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THE ANDREWS DIPTYCH AND SOME RELATED IVORIES

ELIZABETH ROSENBAUM

EVER since the so-called Andrews Diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum with scenes from the New Testament (Fig. 1) was published thirty years ago¹ its date and origin have aroused controversy. Some scholars give it a date in the first half of the fifth century,² while others considered it to be a Carolingian work.³ The question of the date of this ivory involves that of three other ivories, stylistically closely related to the Diptych; the *Venatio* ivory in Liverpool (Fig. 2),⁴ and two ivories, each showing an apostle, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 3) and in the Louvre (Fig. 4).⁵

The fifth century date of the three latter pieces has hitherto never been disputed. Because of their obvious relationship with the Andrews Diptych, whatever date is demonstrably valid for the Diptych must, however, apply equally to all the ivories of this group. The only close parallel for the acanthus strips which divide the Diptych scenes is to be found in the framing border of the *Venatio*. In all four pieces the drapery folds are very similar. Compare, for instance, the layers of drapery folds over the left shoulders of Christ and the apostle in the *Healing of the Leper* (Fig. 17) with the garment of the official on the right in the *Venatio* (Fig. 15), and that of the single apostle figures. The Louvre apostle is so similar to certain figures in the Diptych as to appear almost interchangeable with them. Compare, further, the head of the London apostle with that of the apostle in the *Healing of the Paralytic*; or the head of the official at the left in the *Venatio* with the more precisely characterized heads of the Diptych. None of the four pieces can be dated on any but stylistic grounds.⁶ In undertaking to propose a new date we must, therefore, once again examine their composition and style.⁷

The composition of the six scenes of the Diptych is to a certain extent hieratic. Most of the figures do not look at one another nor do they seem concerned with what is happening around them. The pure profile is avoided with one marked exception. In all six panels the vertical middle axis is clearly accentuated. In a general way this emphasis on the central axis has a close parallel in the mosaics with New Testament scenes in S. Apollinare Nuovo, and these have indeed been compared with the Diptych with regard to some details of iconography.⁸

1. E. Maclagan, "An undescribed Early Christian Ivory Diptych," *Antiquaries Journal*, III, 1923, pp. 99-117 (cited below as Maclagan). The Diptych was first reproduced in A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, 1907, fig. 382. Mentioned by A. Goldschmidt, *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsrg.*, XXVI, 1905, p. 64, nos. 23-24.

2. In addition to Maclagan these include: R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, 2, Leipzig-Berlin, 1929), no. 70, text pp. 27f., 275 (cited below as Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*); C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avori romani-orientali*, Rome, 1936/44, fig., p. 178 (cited below as Cecchelli, *Cattedra*); M. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory*, Part I, London, 1927, No. 47, 47a-1926, pl. VIII; E. Loos-Dietz, *Vroeg Christelijke ivoren, studie over de stijlontwikkeling van de vierde naar de vijfde eeuw*, Thesis, Leiden, 1947, pp. 119ff.

3. E. Weigand, *Kritische Berichte*, 1930-1931, pp. 33ff., particularly p. 48; G. de Frankovich, "Arte Carolingia ed Ottonica in Lombardia," *Röm. Jahrb. f. Kunstgesch.*, VI, 1942-1944, pp. 115-252, Chapter on ivories: pp. 148ff., fig. 33 (cf. the compilation of earlier literature p. 154, n. 82); W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des*

frühen Mittelalters, 2d ed., Mainz, 1952, no. 233, pl. 63 (cited below as Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*).

4. Liverpool, Free Public Museum, inv. no. 10042. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 58, text pp. 223-227. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 59, pl. 19.

5. Apostle in the Victoria and Albert Museum: inv. no. 272-1867, M. Longhurst, *op.cit.*, pl. XI; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 122, pl. 35 (first half of the fifth century). Apostle in the Louvre: Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 123, pl. 35 (fifth century).

6. Delbrueck (*Consulardiptychen*, text pp. 225f.) points to difficulties of dating and localizing the *Venatio* for nonstylistic reasons.

7. I have to thank Mr. Molesworth of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Director of the Museum in Liverpool, and M. Landais, Conservateur adjoint du département des objets d'art au Musée du Louvre, for kindly permitting me to study the originals and to have new photographs made. I am further indebted to Mr. O. Fein of the Warburg Institute, who took the excellent photographs of details of the Andrews Diptych.

8. Maclagan, pp. 110ff.

Starting, therefore, with the iconography, we notice that the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (Fig. 5), for instance, occurs similarly only in some examples of the sixth century.⁹ Among these the mosaic in S. Apollinare affords the closest parallel.¹⁰ The characterization of the four apostles is similar, and the symmetrical effect of the plants in the mosaic is not unlike that of the architectural background in the ivory. The *Miracle of Cana* in S. Apollinare¹¹ is almost a reversed version of the scene in the ivory (Fig. 9). In the mosaic we see, instead of the Virgin, an apostle¹² behind the wine-jars, and the servant was originally shown in more agitated movement. The *Healing of the Blind Men*¹³ (Fig. 13) too, shows a striking similarity in composition and pictorial effect. Except for the apostle added on the right margin, the mosaic has exactly the same arrangement as the ivory. The pose of the two blind men is rather different, but the distinction between them is again similar. Compare the compositions of the scenes of the *Raising of Lazarus*¹⁴ and the *Healing of the Paralytic*¹⁵ (Fig. 7); the Lazarus scene in the mosaic is in fact again a reversed version of that in the ivory. The paralytic in both works not only has a similar dress and bed, but also pose and movement are nearly identical.

These parallels between the scenes of the ivory and the cycle of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo suggest that a similar type of New Testament cycle was the model for both works; and this assumption gives us a clue for the dating of the Diptych. In the sixth century a tendency towards the hieratic principle of composition together with a more "monumental" style which emphasizes the transcendental quality of the icon became more and more dominant. In the Andrews Diptych this new hieratic style is at least as developed as in the mosaics of S. Apollinare, in some points even more advanced. We may, therefore, conclude that the Diptych cannot be earlier than the sixth century.

This date can be defined more closely if we examine the style of the ivories themselves.¹⁶ Among the ornaments only the acanthus molding in the Diptych and the *Venatio* is at all specific.¹⁷ The

9. Pyx in Livorno (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 165, pl. 53); Pyx in New York (*ibid.*, no. 166, pl. 53); Catacomb fresco in Alexandria (Cecchelli, *Cattedra*, p. 175, drawing); Throne of Maximianus (Cecchelli, *Cattedra*, pl. XXIX).

10. M. v. Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques Chrétiennes*, Geneva, 1924, fig. 147 (cited below as Berchem-Clouzot). It is different only in the pose of Christ.

11. Berchem-Clouzot, figs. 145 and 146. The Ciampini drawing preserves the original scene which was wrongly changed into a *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* by Kybel's restoration.

12. Apart from the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* and the *Denial of St. Peter*, all scenes of the Life of Christ in S. Apollinare show an apostle witnessing the miracle. He is always placed behind Christ, i.e. near the margin of the picture. The fact that in the *Miracle of Cana*, and only there, he appears in the center between Christ and the servant, suggests that the model may have had in this place the Virgin, as in the Andrews Diptych. Cf. also the sixth century gold medallion in Berlin, H. H. Arnason, *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, pp. 193ff., fig. 8. For iconographical parallels to all six scenes in general, cf. Maclagan, pp. 110ff. Some references may be added. The form of the tomb of Lazarus does not occur in exactly the same way elsewhere. Cf. however for the detail of the open gable (without a filling) the Lazarus tomb on the book-cover in Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 145, pl. 17), and several buildings on the Throne of Maximianus (e.g. Cecchelli, *Cattedra*, pl. XXVII). The few scenes of the *Healing of the Leper* which Maclagan cites from Early Christian and Early Byzantine monuments are iconographically different from that in the Diptych. The indication of the disease by marks on the skin appears to be a common feature, cf. e.g. the fragment of a fourth century sarcophagus in the Brummer Gallery (*Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Catalogue of the Baltimore Exhibition, 1947, no. 31, pl. V), and the fragments from the Martyrion in Antioch (*Antioch on the Orontes*, III, Princeton, 1941, relief fragm. nos. 435

and 436, pl. 24), also the Carolingian ivory (A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen . . .*, I, Berlin, 1914, no. 81), and the miniature in the Codex Egberti (F. X. Kraus, *Codex Egberti*, pl. XX). The scene in the Paris Gregory (Bibl. Nat., MS. gr. 510, f. 170, H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat. du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, 2d ed., Paris, 1929, pl. XXXVI) is similar to the Andrews Diptych in some essential features. Cf. e.g. drapery, pose, and gesture of the figure of Christ, the torso of the leper, and particularly his right arm and hand with open palm. The pose of the leper in the miniature, between sitting and standing, seems to suggest a model with a sitting figure like that on the Diptych. The figure of Job in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. syr. 341 (H. Omont, *Monuments Piot*, XVII, 1909, p. 92, pl. VI) with which MacLagan compares it seems to me quite different.

13. Berchem-Clouzot, fig. 149.

14. *ibid.*, fig. 152.

15. *ibid.*, fig. 158.

16. There are some slight differences between the two wings of the Diptych. On the right wing, the acanthus strips are wider, so that the single panels become somewhat narrower and the figures, therefore, clumsier in their proportions. The acanthus ornament itself is more schematic. The rendering of the hair on the right wing is also more schematized, most obvious in the youthful heads where the tiny lines indicating the hair of the skull run in a sort of fish-bone pattern. The heads of Christ in that wing are more individual, and also the drapery of the figures of Christ is somewhat different: the sleeves of the tunic have no scalloped border, and the hanging lappet of the *pallium* terminates in a tassel. Cf. for the following discussion, Maclagan, pp. 103ff. Loos-Dietz, *op.cit.*, pp. 119ff.

17. Weigand's suspicion (*op.cit.*, p. 48) that the frame of the *Venatio* could have been recarved later, appears to me unfounded. He sees a parallel in the capitals of the Ciborium of St. Ambrogio in Milan which I do not think is sufficiently justified by the slight similarity. For the rest, the Ciborium

chalice-shaped growth between the two half-leaves of the acanthus occurs on a stone fragment from Constantinople, and a similar technique of carving can be seen on Coptic bone-carvings.¹⁸

The regular pattern of little holes representing the soil is a purely ornamental variant of an old motif found in sarcophagi and early ivories,¹⁹ more decorative even in the *Venatio* than in the Diptych. It is used in a similar way in Byzantine silver-work of the sixth and seventh centuries.²⁰ As to the structure of the rock in the ivory panel representing the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* we find the closest parallel in one of the Cypriote plates (Fig. 8).²¹

The motif of incised shrubs found in two scenes of the Diptych (Figs. 12, 17) does not occur in this precise form, so far as I know, in any other ivory.²² However, such shrubs do occur in silver vessels. The motif seems especially fit for metal engraving, and it is in metal objects that we find it in the fourth century²³ and very frequently in the sixth and seventh centuries.²⁴ Its appearance in the ivory, therefore, could have been inspired by such silver works as for instance the Meleager plate in Leningrad (Fig. 14).

The architectural backgrounds of the Diptych do not resemble either those on Early Christian examples or those on Carolingian ivories like the book-cover in Aix-la-Chapelle.²⁵ In these works the rendering of buildings is generally more sculptural; either they predominate over the figures (e.g. on the Lateran sarcophagus, No. 174) or they are modeled to create an impression of space or they indicate a particular locality (e.g. in the Aix ivory). But the buildings in the Andrews Diptych are very flat and their outlines are, for the most part, only incised, so that the effect is that of a background pattern, setting off the figures. In this respect they recall the architectural motives incised into the gold ground of Byzantine miniatures of the tenth century.²⁶ The particular combination of details is found in no other monument.²⁷ The method employed in most of the buildings of indicating the vertical layer of mortar by two lines while the horizontal layer is always rendered by one line, occurs, as far as I know, in ivory carving only in the Murano book cover and its counterpart in Manchester;²⁸ it is, however, frequently found in the silver-work of the sixth and seventh centuries²⁹ (Fig. 14).

is probably Othonian (cf. G. de Frankovich, *op.cit.*). I could not find a similar form of acanthus ornament in Carolingian ivory work or book illumination.

18. Stone fragment, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, O. Wulff-W. F. Volbach, *Die altchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Bildwerke*, 3. Band, Ergänzungsband, Berlin, 1923, no. J.6716, fig. p. 8. Bone-carvings e.g. in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche, byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, 3. Band, Teil 1: *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1909, nos. 447, 448, pl. XX.

19. E.g. F. Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage der spätantiken Zeit* (*Spätantike Studien* 10, Berlin, 1940), pls. 12-18. For ivories cf. e.g. the lion hunt in Leningrad and the diptych with Artemis and Dionysus in Sens, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 60 and 61.

20. Apart from the pieces discussed below, cf. e.g. the plate with *Indus* in Constantinople, Ottom. Museum, Pierce-Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, 1, Paris, 1932, fig. 177, and a plate from Siberia, formerly Stroganoff Coll. Rome, O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (1925), pl. LIX, 1.

21. Nikosia, Cyprus Museum, bibliography see below note 31.

22. Similar forms occur occasionally in bone carvings, e.g. in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (O. Wulff, *loc.cit.*, nos. 346, 347, 351, pl. XVI, *Baltimore Catalogue* 1947, nos. 193, 197), where also the figures are incised. Cf. also the plants in mosaics, e.g. in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, Berchem-Clouzot, fig. 105.

23. E.g. in vessels found in Concesti (L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1929, pls. 38ff., from which our Figs. 11, 13, 19 are reproduced), and in the *Misericordium* of Theodosius, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 62.

24. E.g. in the Meleager plate in the Hermitage and several

of the Cypriote plates (figs. 14, 7, 8, 9, 15); for bibliography see below note 31.

25. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* . . ., 1, no. 22.

26. Cf. e.g. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jh.*, Berlin, 1935, figs. 73 and 74.

27. Most of the individual forms are so conventional that it is not necessary to cite parallels. Delbrueck (*Consulardiptychen*, text p. 28) draws attention to the towers with cupolas and the vaulted nave which suggest models in the Near East. In pre-Carolingian monuments quatrefoils like the one in the gable of the building behind the leper are known to me only in the mosaics representing the Councils of Antioch and Laodicea in the Nativity Church in Bethlehem (end of the seventh century) where the windows on the long sides are quatrefoil in shape (cf. H. Stern, "Les représentations des conciles," *Byzantion*, XI, 1936, pp. 101-152, pl. V, 15, pl. VI, 17). (I must thank Prof. H. Schlunk for this reference.) As gable ornament the form occurs in mediaeval manuscripts, e.g. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 22, p. 14 (A. Goldschmidt, *Deutsche Buchmalerei*, 1, Florence-Munich 1928, pl. 67), second half of the ninth century. Cf. also MacLagan p. 114.

28. In the Murano book cover it occurs on the tomb of Lazarus; in the panel with the Virgin in Manchester, on the base of the manger, where the vertical double lines are only painted, while single vertical lines are incised (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 125, 127, pl. 39).

29. In the Meleager plate the roof of the tower is very similar to that of the tower to the left in the scene with the blind men. Cf. also the fifth century silver *capsella* from Brivio in the Louvre (H. H. Arnason, *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, figs. 22, 23, pp. 193ff.).

The figure style of the ivories, too, is as distinct from that of the fifth century as from the early Carolingian style.³⁰ The ivories of the Theodosian period avoid the sharp contrast between body and garment, between nude and clothed parts. In no case are the garments completely plain and drawn tight over protruding parts of the body. There are always thin layers which gradually merge into the parts with richer drapery. The closest parallels are provided by early Byzantine silver-work,³¹ but a number of sixth century ivories show some points of comparison. Among the consular diptychs of the sixth century for instance we find heads modeled in similar soft and swollen forms side by side with others showing more individual features, exactly as is the case in our ivories.³² Similar types of heads and the peculiar technique of rendering hair—typical of the apostles in the Diptych, that in the Louvre and those of the figures of the *Venatio*—is also found in several silver vessels of the sixth and seventh centuries.³³ But, apart from the heads, there are other points of comparison with the figure style of the Andrews Diptych in the diptych with poet and muse in Monza.³⁴ In both works the bodies are strongly built; the draperies are spread out on the background in a similar way, and a similar contrast exists between the parts where the body is shown beneath the garment and those where it is hidden by the drapery. It is particularly suggestive to compare the nude torso of the poet with that of the leper (Fig. 17) and that of the servant in the *Miracle of Cana* (Fig. 9); the contrast between the soft and unarticulated hand and forearm and the very muscular parts of the body is equally striking in both works. They have a further common feature in the “hanging” shoulder, most pronounced in the

30. Compare the groups of ivories cited by MacLagan and Loos-Dietz as parallels to the Andrews Diptych. Some of the physiognomic details, e.g. the protruding upper jaw and also the hairdress of the youthful figures, appear over such a long period that they provide no clue for a date. The same is true of the hairdress of Christ which is found in monuments dating from the fifth century onwards. The style of the early Carolingian ivories with which the Andrews Diptych has been connected is equally different. The arrangement of the plates 62 and 63 in Volbach's *Elfenbeinarbeiten* illustrates the difference better than words.

31. The following pieces of Byzantine silver-work are especially suitable for stylistic comparison with the ivories:

1. The dish from Kopciki with the appearance of Venus in the tent of Anchises, Hermitage, hallmarks with portrait of Justinian (Matzulewitsch, *op.cit.*, p. 3, no. 3, pl. 3).
2. The plate with a goatherd from Klimowa (Fig. 11), Hermitage, hallmarks with portrait of either Anastasius or Justinian (Matzulewitsch, *op.cit.*, p. 4, no. 4, pl. 31).
3. The dish with the quarrel over Achilles' armour (Fig. 13), Hermitage, datable on stylistic analogies about the middle of the sixth century (Matzulewitsch, *op.cit.*, pp. 54ff., pl. 35).
4. The *patena* from Stuma, Istanbul, Museum, hallmarks with emperor portrait probably of the last quarter of the sixth century, H. Pierce-R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, II, Paris, 1934, fig. 140a, b.
5. The *patena* from Riha, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, hallmarks with emperor portrait of late sixth century, Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, fig. 144 (M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, IV, 3d ed., Berlin, 1928, pp. 686f., nos. 9870-73).
6. The Meleager plate (Fig. 14), Hermitage, hallmark with portrait of Heraclius of the years 610-630 (Matzulewitsch, *op.cit.*, p. 2, no. 1, pl. 1).
7. The silver bucket with six gods (Fig. 19), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, hallmarks like no. 6, (Matzulewitsch, *op.cit.*, p. 7, no. 14, pls. 7-12).
8. The Cypriote plates, particularly: a) *Anointing of David* (New York, Metr. Mus., C. H. Smith, *Bronzes antique Greek, Roman etc., including some*

antique objects in gold and silver in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, Paris, 1913, pl. LXIII; M. Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 642f., nos. 9671-76); b) *David trying on Saul's Armour* (Fig. 16), New York, Metr. Mus. (C. H. Smith, pl. LXV; M. Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 644f., nos. 9678-82); c) *David's Presentation before Saul* (Fig. 6), New York, Metr. Mus. (C. H. Smith, pl. LXIV; M. Rosenberg, pp. 646f., nos. 9684-88); d) *The Marriage of David* (Fig. 10), Nikosia, Cyprus Museum (M. Rosenberg, pp. 648f., nos. 9690-98); e) *David and the Messenger of the Amalekites* (Fig. 18), New York, Metr. Mus. (M. Rosenberg, pp. 638f., nos. 9657-63); f) *David as Harpist and Saul's Messenger* (Fig. 8), Nikosia, Cyprus Museum (M. Rosenberg, pp. 650f., nos. 9699-9707). All the Cypriote David plates have hallmarks like no. 6.

9. Vase from Horns in the Louvre, second half of the sixth century, Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, fig. 71.
10. The oblong reliquary in Grado, probably second half of the sixth century, Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, fig. 137c.
11. Censer from the Chersonese, Hermitage hallmarks of Anastasius or Justinian, M. Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 704f., fig., no. 9965.
12. Hexagonal censer from Cyprus, London, Brit. Mus., sixth-seventh century, Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, fig. 137b, M. Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 670f., nos. 9794-9802.

The studies of Matzulewitsch proved beyond doubt that the hallmarks were applied during the process of work and thus provide fixed dates in those cases where the emperor portraits or monogrammes can be identified. For the comparison of our ivories with the silver-work, cf. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, text, p. 28.

32. Cf. e.g. Areobindus Diptych in Milan, Paris, Lenigrad; Clementinus Diptych in Liverpool; Magnus Diptych in Milan; Philoxenus Diptych in Paris: Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 14, 11, 12, 16, 22v, 29. Cf. also Justinian's Bronze coin of 538, Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 13a.

33. Cf. nos. 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 of note 31.

34. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 68, pl. 22. The drapery style itself is, however, so different from that of our ivories that there can be no direct connection between them.



1. The Andrews Diptych. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Warburg Institute, O. Fein)



2. Venatio. Liverpool, Free Public Museum



3. Apostle. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, Crown Copyright)



4. Apostle. Paris, Louvre (photo: Archives
Photographiques, Paris)



7. *The Healing of the Paralytic*. Andrews Diptych, detail
(photo: Warburg Institute, O. Fein)



6. *The Presentation of David*. Silver plate from Cyprus.
New York, Metropolitan Museum



5. *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*. Andrews Diptych, detail
(photo: Warburg Institute, O. Fein)



8. *David and Saul's Messenger*. Silver plate.
Nikosia, Cyprus Museum (photo: Cyprus Museum)



9. *The Marriage of David*. Silver plate.
(photo: Warburg Institute, O. Fein)

10. *The Marriage of David*. Silver plate.
Nikosia, Cyprus Museum (photo: Cyprus Museum)



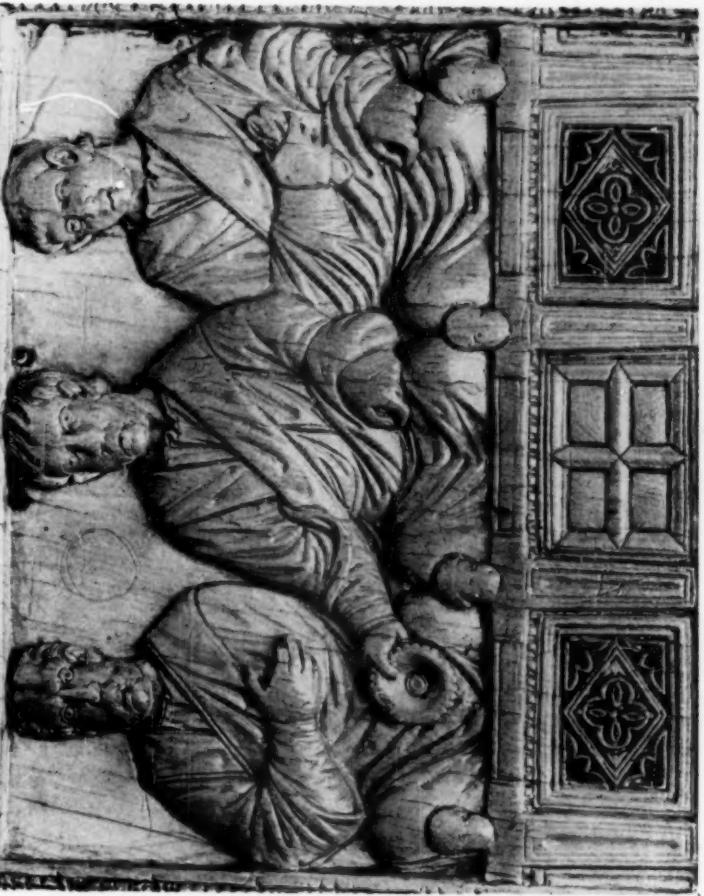
11. *Goatherd*. Silver plate from Klimova
Leningrad, Hermitage



12. *The Healing of the Two Blind Men*. Andrews Diptych, detail
(photo: Warburg Institute, O. Fein)



13. *Athena Deciding the Quarrel of Ajax and Odysseus over Achilles' Armor*. Silver plate. Leningrad, Hermitage



15. *Three officials*, *Venatio* ivory, detail



14. *Meleager and Atalante*. Silver plate
Leningrad, Hermitage

16. *David Trying on Saul's Armor*. Silver plate from
Cyprus. New York, Metropolitan Museum



17. *The Healing of the Leper*. Andrews Diptych, detail
(photo: Warburg Institute, O. Fein)



18. *The Messenger of the Amalekites*. Detail of silver plate
from Cyprus. New York, Metropolitan Museum



19. *Venus*. Detail of the silver bucket with six gods
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

servant of the *Miracle of Cana* in the Andrews Diptych. This characteristic device occurs also in the silver plate with the goatherd from Klimowa (Fig. 11), in the dish with the figure of Ajax in the quarrel over Achilles' armor (Fig. 13), in the Meleager plate (Fig. 14) and in several of the Cypriote plates (Figs. 6, 10, 16). The goatherd from Klimowa wears a tunic with drapery similar to that of the servant in the *Miracle of Cana*. The body of Ajax is comparable to the body of the leper.

The rendering of the garments, particularly the way in which they are spread out on the background—most characteristic in the London Apostle (Fig. 3) and the figure of Christ in the *Healing of the Leper* (Fig. 17)—the rich cascades of folds hanging down from the mantle, and the layers of folds over the left shoulder; all this is most closely matched in the silver-work of the time of Heraclius. Moreover, the figures in this group of silver-work are like those of the ivories in their well-balanced and fairly organic proportions. Compare especially the figures of the Cypriote plates (Figs. 8, 10, 18) and the Venus from the bucket with the six gods in Vienna (Fig. 19).³⁵ There is no other group of monuments in which a combination of all the features that characterize the style of the Andrews Diptych occurs in such a strikingly similar manner. It is, therefore, not too rash to date the Diptych and the related ivories in the same period as the silver.

If we are right in maintaining that the Liverpool *Venatio* is contemporary with the Andrews Diptych, we must be able to find in it the same principles of composition which distinguish the Diptych from earlier works. If we want to follow the procedure which has proved useful in the case of the Andrews Diptych, the Diptych *Lampadiorum*³⁶ whose inscription allows it to be assigned to the early fifth century, provides a suitable comparison with the *Venatio* because the subjects of both are taken from the same context. The earlier work shows a chariot race in the circus under three officials; the box in which the officials are sitting occupies the upper part of the panel just as it does in the Liverpool plaque. In the *Lampadiorum* ivory the box gives a greater illusion of space. This is achieved not only by its architectural form, but also by the relation of the figures with the parapet. In the Liverpool ivory the parapet is practically on the same level with the figures, so that they seem to be sitting above rather than behind it. On the *Lampadiorum* ivory the parapet is in front of the figures. There is a real molding on the lower edge creating an impression of depth. In the rendering of the arena we see, in the two ivories, an analogous difference in the conception of space. While in the lower part of the *Lampadiorum* plaque the ground is clearly indicated by a shallow plane set obliquely to the picture plane, it is scarcely distinguished in the *Venatio*. The arch which in the *Venatio* terminates the arena towards the box might have created an illusion of space, but the effect is obliterated by the ornamental filling of the spandrels. As it is, the lower part of the ivory looks like a panel picture in a frame. Moreover, the composition of the *Venatio* scene is completely decorative. The doors of the arena are almost symmetrically distributed. The two *venatores* on the right are identical but for their heads. The pose of the one on the left is a mirror image of the other two. The five stags are very regularly

35. Cf. also the figure of Mars. In the figure of Hercules the contrast between the athletic muscular body and the unarticulated left lower arm with its very soft small hand is comparable to the figures of the leper and the servant in the *Miracle of Cana*. Cf. also the hand of Hercules holding the club with Christ's hand holding the roll. Compare the draperies of Samuel and the old man to the right of David in the *Anointing* with the figures of Christ and the apostles. The "hanging shoulder" occurs in the most marked manner in the figure of David in Fig. 6. In this plate compare also the figure to the right of Saul with Christ in the *Healing of the Paralytic* and with the apostle holding the fishes. In Fig. 16 compare especially Saul with Christ of the *Raising of Lazarus*. The musicians in Fig. 10 show again the "hanging shoulder." Here, too, we

have, as in the Diptych, straight hems side by side with hems with zigzag lines. Compare the mantle of the messenger in Fig. 18 with that of Christ in Fig. 17, and compare the head of David in Fig. 8 with the heads of Christ on the right wing of the Diptych.

36. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 56; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 54, pl. 18. Cf. for the following discussion K. Wessel, "Eine Gruppe oberitalienischer Elfenbeinarbeiten," *Jahrb. des Deutschen Archäol. Inst.*, 63/64, 1948-1949, pp. 111ff.; R. Delbrueck, "Zu spätromischen Elfenbeinen des Westreichs," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 152, 1952, pp. 174ff., 179ff., pl. 27. I am very grateful to Professor Delbrueck for his kind interest, which has greatly encouraged me in spite of his different opinion on questions of detail.

placed within one plane. The scene of the fight proper between the *venator* in action and the middle one of the stags is given a position in the center of the field. The poses of the five animals cannot be explained from the action at all. We get the impression that their attitudes are derived from a larger composition of a hunting scene but without the partner which each one must have had in the original.³⁷ Thus, in spite of the high degree of refinement and finish of the *Venatio* there is a frozen immobility of figures and action. This is especially evident in the stag on the lower half fleeing towards the left. Fleeing animals are a common feature in this kind of scene, and pictures of them have survived in great numbers in floor mosaics. Usually they look either straight ahead³⁸ or they turn their heads backwards towards their pursuers.³⁹ On the Liverpool ivory, however, the stag, without apparent motivation, looks fully towards the spectator. The pose of its head contradicts the rapid movement indicated by the position of the hind legs, so that the animal seems to be arrested in the middle of a most violent motion.⁴⁰ We see here the same tendencies at work which we noticed in the scenes of the Andrews Diptych and which, as we saw, separate this latter work from earlier representations just as they distinguish the *Venatio* from the *Lampadiorum* ivory: the composition is directed entirely towards the spectator, and the relationship between the figures is suppressed in favor of this intention. In the *Venatio* ivory the result of this is the achievement of a finely decorative distribution over the surface rather than of naturalistic space.

We find that the same is the case if we compare the *Venatio* with other ivories picturing animal scenes that certainly belong to the first half of the fifth century. Examples of these are the lion hunt in Leningrad,⁴¹ and the Adam panel of the Diptych Carrand.⁴² The earlier, dynamic conception of circus scenes survives even in the sixth century, and we see it, although often of a lower quality, in the Consular Diptychs.⁴³ The static representation of the Liverpool *Venatio* is, however, paralleled in early Byzantine silver-work, like the Cypriote plate with the killing of the lion.⁴⁴ Like the stags and the hunter of the *Venatio*, David and the lion seem to be frozen at a moment of violent action. The way in which David caresses rather than grips the lion's mane, or the manner in which he holds the tiny club corresponds to the lame movement of the "fighting" *venator*, whose hold on his spear suggests that it could scarcely have scratched the stag's skin.

It is probable that the Liverpool *Venatio* was copied from a Theodosian model, for the herms on top of the parapet were already out of date in the sixth century.⁴⁵ But the ornament of the slabs between the pilasters together with the *à jour* technique correspond to forms which we know from the sixth century.⁴⁶ The *gestus* of libation was certainly found in the model, and the artist who copied it may not have been fully aware of the distinctly pagan meaning of this ceremony. The rendering of the officials' garments betrays signs of misunderstanding. The vertical strip of the *trabea* is indicated by thin incised lines on its outer borders whereas the folds follow

37. Cf. e.g. hunting scenes on mosaic pavements: G. Brett, "The Mosaics," *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, London, 1947, pls. 37, 38, 41, 45; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, vol. II, pls. LVI, LVII, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII, XC.

38. E.g. Levi, *op.cit.*, pl. LXXXVIII; Brett, *op.cit.*, pl. 41.

39. E.g. Levi, *op.cit.*, pls. CLXXVIIB, LXXXVIIB.

40. But cf. the animals seen from the front e.g. in the Anastasius Diptych in Paris (Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 21v) the action of which explains their posture.

41. For the date of this ivory and that of the *Consecratio* in the British Museum cf. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 56 and 60 listing the earlier literature.

42. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 108, pl. 32.

43. Cf. e.g. the Diptychs of Areobindus and Anastasius (Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 10, 11, 20, 21). Here, the

form of the wall of the arena with the spectators behind still shows a trace of the bird's-eye perspective like, for instance, in a lamp in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Lamps*, no. 626, pl. xv) and on cornorniates (A. Alföldi, *Die Konorniates, ein verkanntes Propagandamittel der stadtömischen heidnischen Aristokratie in ihrem Kampf gegen das christliche Kaiserstum*, Budapest, 1943, e.g. pl. XXIV, 9, 10; XXXIV, 2, 3).

44. Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 183b.

45. Cf. the mosaics in the Mosque of Damascus with garden fences in which one can recognize the herms (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, Oxford, 1932, pl. 44C).

46. Cf. e.g. the slabs in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (O. Wulff, *op.cit.*, Nos. 176, 181-183). Cf. also the slabs from Hagios Demetrios, G. A. Sotiriou, 'Η Βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἀγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Athens, 1952, pl. 49 (7th Century).

the direction of those of the *collobium* underneath; this is not found on "genuine" Consular Diptychs.⁴⁷ The drapery in general seems confused. The layers of folds on the left arm of the right official, for instance, might find a realistic explanation in the drapery of a *pallium*; but they could hardly have appeared in the costume of a civil servant such as the artist meant to represent here.

Although from the stylistic point of view, there seems no difficulty in giving the *Venatio*, as well as the three other ivories, to the beginning of the seventh century, there remains the problem of its subject matter. How can it be explained that a stag hunt in the arena presided over by three officials and initiated with a libation should be represented in the seventh century, that is at a time when such pagan ceremonies could no longer have been performed? We have to consider this problem in connection with the spiritual and formal background of the phenomenon called "*Byzantinische Antike*,"⁴⁸ to which the silver vessels with mythological scenes belong.

We know that in the second half of the fourth century there arose among Roman nobles a reaction against Christianity which caused the first classicist renaissance of late antiquity.⁴⁹ Apart from the *contorniates* with pagan and even aggressively anti-Christian subjects⁵⁰ a number of works in ivory and silver has come down to us.⁵¹ The pagan party was powerful enough to have the *contorniates* made in the Imperial mint (until 394 and again after 410). The last *contorniates* date from the reign of Anthemius and this is very probably also the last date for the other works of the minor arts belonging to the same pagan movement. The center of this pagan revival was Rome, and it is not traceable in the Eastern part of the Empire. The few *contorniates* issued probably in Constantinople are imitations of the Roman ones but have no distinctly pagan scenes.⁵² The classicizing style arising from this revival of paganism affected also the Christian art of the period, since the same artists worked for pagan and Christian patrons. The Roman aristocrats, forced by Theodosius to become Christians, even ordered pagan images and Christian inscriptions to appear on the same objects.⁵³ This period of the Theodosian Renaissance was, for a long time to come, the last one in which Rome played a leading part in the art of the Empire. Although it is hardly possible that from the reign of Theodosius onwards public games were still initiated with libations to the pagan gods, the mood of these Roman circles makes it just as likely for these scenes to have appeared on gift articles as mythological scenes, sacrifices, and images of the gods. It is therefore mainly on account of its subject matter that no date other than *ca.* 400 has ever been considered for the Liverpool *Venatio*.

The silver vessels with mythological scenes prove, however, that movements of revival producing a corresponding artistic appearance existed in the first half of the sixth century and during the reign of Heraclius. But this time, the center of the revival was in the East, probably in Constantinople. The works of art in question cannot be the results of an uninterrupted artistic development of the classicist trend of the early fifth century. For we do not know of such works of the second half of the fifth century,⁵⁴ and the known monuments with mythological scenes coming

47. Cf. the diptychs in Delbrueck, *Consular diptychen*, nos. 65, 57, 56, 7, 11, 14, 16, 20, 22, 32, 33, 34.

48. L. Matzulewitsch.

49. Cf. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, especially part IV, pp. 48ff.

50. E.g. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, pp. 60ff.

51. E.g. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, pp. 68ff.; *idem*, "Die Spätantike in der Ausstellung 'Kunstschatze der Lombardei' in Zürich," *Atlantis*, XXI, 2, 1949, pp. 68ff.

52. Cf. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, p. 23, pl. XXXV, 9-11.

53. E.g. the Bridal Casket of Proiecta in the British Museum (O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities*, 1901, no. 304, pp. 61ff., pls. XIII-XVIII).

54. This is hardly due simply to the chance of preservation. In the monumental sculpture of Constantinople we see the "classicist" style of the Theodosian dynasty abandoned in the Column of Marcianus (J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit*, Spätantike Studien 12, Berlin, 1941, pl. 12) and kindred works (e.g. Kollwitz, pl. 15), a parallel development to that in Western ivories as well as in the stucco reliefs of the Baptistry of Neon in Ravenna and in mosaics. Cf. for instance the style of the mosaic pavements of the Great Palace (Brett, *op.cit.*, pls. 28-56) with mosaics in Antioch from the second half of the fifth century, e.g. the *Megalopsychia* mosaic (D. Levi, *op.cit.*, II, pl. LXXVIII).

from Egypt or connected with Egyptian art⁵⁵ show considerable stylistic differences. In Egypt, pagan subjects continued to play an important part, but in the course of the fifth century their style became less and less classical. In the art of the Eastern provinces, on the other hand, we have to reckon with a continuous Hellenistic tradition. This is for instance proved by the floor mosaics and the few surviving book illuminations. It is, therefore, not surprising that when the political and cultural prevalence of the East over the West was established, Constantinople should become the center of a revival of classical forms. The spiritual background of these sixth and seventh century revivals differs understandably from that of Theodosius' time. The Roman aristocrats of the late fourth and early fifth century were mainly interested in the pagan content, and used the artistic form as a means of propaganda for their religious and political ideas. Since they were Romans, proud of their own Golden Age, they drew mainly on the neo-attic style of the time of Augustus. In the sixth and seventh centuries interests of this kind could no longer be operative. The mythological subjects of the silver-work of that time are the same as those under Theodosius: scenes from the epic cycles, Dionysian subjects like Sileni, Menades, Nereides, and gods and heroes; but the religious meaning of these subjects was lost or had been transformed. The sixth and seventh century revivals are therefore comparable to those of the Middle Ages. It seems that the early Byzantine renovators of pagan subjects looked upon "antique" art as a "classical" ideal in much the same way as did Charlemagne's reformers, or the initiators of the middle-Byzantine Renaissance in the tenth century.

Yet, in spite of the essential spiritual differences between the Theodosian "Renaissance" and the early Byzantine revivals, the appearances have much in common. It is very likely that the immediate models for the sixth and seventh century artist were works of the period of the Theodosian dynasty. The structure of the early Byzantine silver plates is similar to that of the fourth century ones.⁵⁶ The David plates show in their general arrangement so close a connection with the Theodosius *missorium* that they may be assumed to have had a model of similar design.⁵⁷ The style of the early Byzantine classicizing works, however, is different and seems to be inspired by the more "baroque" trends of Hellenistic art.

Another similarity between the early Byzantine revivals⁵⁸ and the Theodosian Renaissance is that in both periods works with pagan and Christian subjects were executed in the same workshops. For the silver this is proved by the hallmarks. It is very likely that the same is true for ivory-carving, the other luxury branch of the minor arts. It would therefore not seem too surprising to find a subject like that of the Liverpool *Venatio* in the period which also produced the Meleager plate or the bucket with the six gods.

If we are right in giving this group of four ivories to the time of Heraclius, the phenomenon of the silver would no longer appear as isolated as it has until now. All these classicist works of the minor arts appear to have sprung from a cultural revival under the reign of a great emperor, which had its predecessors in a revival at the beginning of the sixth century⁵⁹ and in the

55. Cf. e.g. the ivory with Apollo and Daphne in Ravenna (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 80, pl. 26), and the reliefs from the pulpit in Aix-la-Chapelle (*ibid.*, nos. 72-77, pls. 24, 25).

56. Cf. Matzulewitsch, *op.cit.*, pp. 48f.

57. Cf. the form of the architectural scheme and the distribution of the figures; also the hairdress of the bodyguard in the plate of the Presentation (Fig. 6) with those of the *missorium*, and compare also the bearded heads of the David plates (e.g. Saul in figs. 6 and 16) with the head of the husband in the Proiecta Casket (Pierce-Tyler, *op.cit.*, 1, fig. 78a).

58. The two kindred stylistic trends of the sixth and seventh centuries seem to be two distinct "revivals" of classical art,

with no straight line of development between them. No mythological silver vessel with hallmark seems to have survived of the period between Justinian and Heraclius, and the nonmythological silver vessels from the second half of the sixth century differ in style more from the earlier and the later works than these from each other. The reign of Heraclius was also politically a revival, so that it would not be surprising to find a cultural revival at the same time. In this context one may mention the refoundation of the Constantinople University under Heraclius. The last Byzantine profane poet of some importance, Georgios Pisides, lived at that time. He wrote in the style of the Nonnos school.

59. Specimens of the "classicizing" trend in the ivory sculpture of the first half of the sixth century are the diptych with

Theodosian Renaissance. At the same time it also drew on that Hellenistic undercurrent which in the East had never entirely ceased to exist. The style thus created appears to have been one of the foundations of the early Carolingian style, in ivory carvings as well as in book illumination.⁶⁰

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poet and muse in Monza and the Archangel ivory in the British Museum (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 109, pl. 32), dated by A. A. Vasiliev (*Justin the First*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 1, 1950, pp. 418-426) between 519 and 523 with convincing arguments. Apparently, the classicist style in the ivory carvings was abandoned completely in the second half of the

sixth century, when the more "expressionist" style of the narrative scenes of the Maximianus' Throne was generally adopted.

60. Cf. E. Rosenbaum, *Late Antique Models for Carolingian Art*, Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts of London University, 1952, typescript.

GOTHIC SURVIVAL AND REVIVAL IN BOLOGNA

RICHARD BERNHEIMER

I

IN THE carnival of 1694¹ the Teatro Malvezzi in Bologna put on a first performance of a new opera named *La Forza della Virtù*, which must have caused some raising of eyebrows among a public accustomed to the ordinary theatrical fare. Its music by G. A. Perti seems to be lost and we are not prepared to pass on the libretto by Domenico David. The stage sets, however, designed by the native painter Marcantonio Chiarini (1652-1730) were quite sufficient to initiate a new epoch in the history of the theater in Italy, for the artist had broken with two conventions which had been taken for granted since the sixteenth century. In one of his sets he had abandoned the principle of frontal symmetry universally adhered to in all theatrical designs of the time, replacing it by an irregular *scena al angolo*;² and in another he had even given up the principle of Italian post-Renaissance art that any reproduction of past forms must cleave to Roman antiquity, for this stage set was Gothic.

We possess an excellent record of the performance in an illustrated libretto issued in the same year and containing in front of each act a large print by Buffagnotti of the set employed (Fig. 1). Chiarini's mediaeval design shows a spacious hall of more than usual depth, its central perspective intensified by an orderly recession of many identical parts. Wall columns in a long sequence support transverse arches, each helping to maintain a pointed barrel vault, with a ridge rib which runs the whole length of the hall. Although the vault is thus as purely Gothic as could be expected in an Italian secular building, the walls show the influence of contemporary style: between the columns there are busts in oval niches, and the columns themselves evince a curious vacillation by the artist between the Gothic and the Vitruvian. Their proportions are the squat ones of the Doric or Tuscan order, with a high plinth and a classical base, while the Corinthian capitals, with their lack of volutes in the corners, seem more akin to those in San Petronio in Bologna or in the cathedral in Florence than they are to any classical prototype. And what at first glance appears as the flutings in the Corinthian shafts, may be really awkward renditions by the not very skillful engraver Buffagnotti of the bundled pilasters of high Gothic design. The whole set gives an impression of unimpeded spaciousness, which goes far in justifying Malvasia's³ dictum that Chiarini's art had "a most beautiful character of simplicity and truth."

About the origin of Chiarini's conception there can be little doubt: it is a free variant upon the hall of justice, the so-called *Salone* in Padua of the thirteenth century (Fig. 2). The walls, it is true, of this mediaeval building differ from those in Chiarini's set by being unadorned except for the famous frescoes with astrological subjects which were added in the fourteenth century.⁴ The huge wooden vault is closely akin to Chiarini's set, for it is supported by a great number of parallel

1. Thanks are due to Dr. B. Degenhard of the *Graphische Sammlung* and to Dr. G. Schoene of the *Theatermuseum* in Munich for making the treasures of their institutions available to me; to my former colleague P. Verdier, now of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, for many valuable suggestions; and to Professor P. Frankl, of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, for allowing me to read the pertinent parts in his forthcoming book on the history of opinions about Gothic.

2. This is the prison scene in the second act. I shall try to

show elsewhere that this departure from accepted practice is due to iconographic considerations which link the *carcere* with the scene of the inferno in earlier theatrical productions.

3. Malvasia, *Pitture Scolture ed Architetture delle Chiese, Luoghi pubblici, Palazzi, e Case della Città di Bologna*, Bologna, 1782, p. 469: "Espresso un bellissimo carattere di semplicità e verità."

4. A. Barzon: *I Cieli e la loro influenza negli affreschi del Salone di Padova*, Padua, 1924.

diaphragm arches and exhibits the extraordinary feature, unheard of elsewhere in mediaeval Italy, of a ridge rib. It will be noticed, however, that while pointed, the vault is lower than in Chiarini's design and seems to have been inspired by the soaring shapes of the great church of San Petronio. The effect of height has been increased further by the perspective trick of allowing the arches to become proportionally steeper, the further they are removed from the spectator's glance.

As usual in Italian libretti of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the printed stage indications are detailed and accurate, having been tailored to fit the finished design of the set. They demand "a hall in the Gothic manner, with various portraits of the ancient heroes of Toledo, where the accused are to be examined," and they thus provide what justification was required for the employment of mediaeval forms and of the forms of the *Salone* in particular. The caption under the print supports this description by calling the hall a tribunal. It is borne out by the presence at the left side of the print of a rostrum, set up like an ambo in a mediaeval church, which emphasizes the judicial function of the hall.

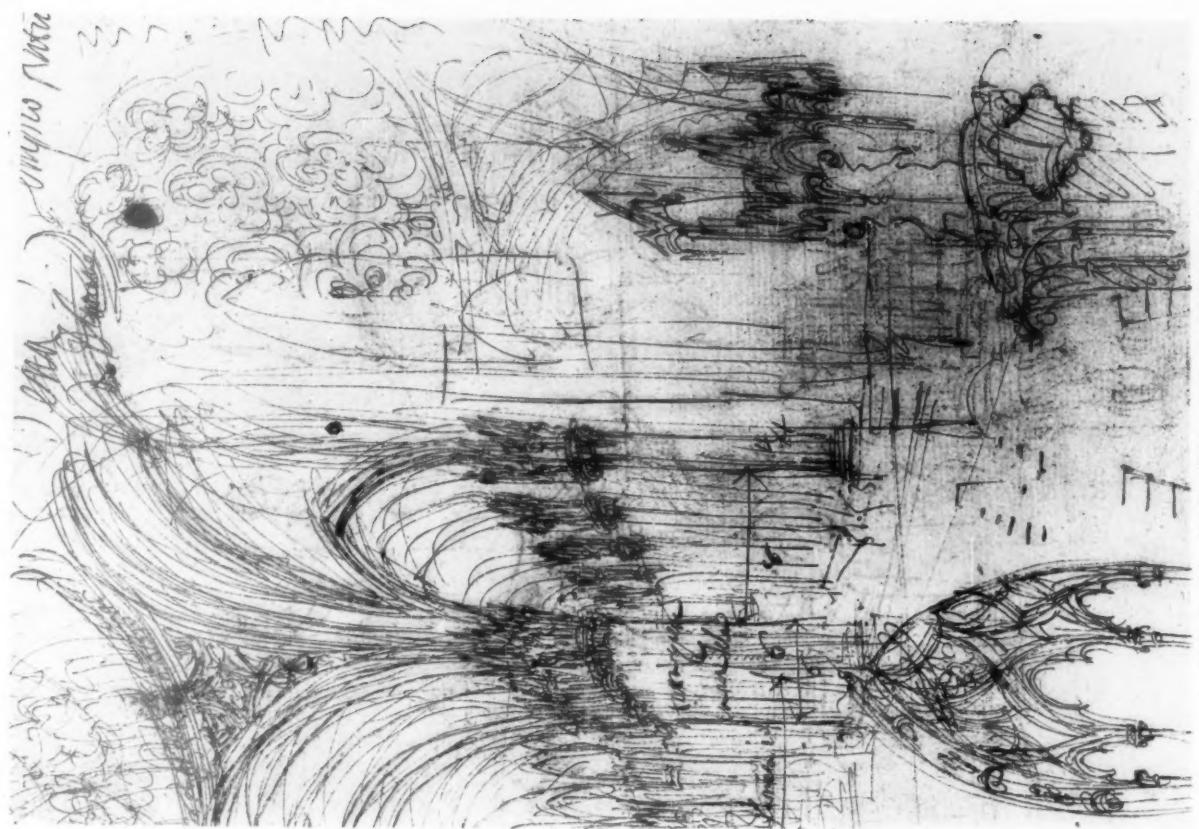
The text of the libretto furnishes a full explanation of Chiarini's innovation. We learn from it that the scene is laid in mediaeval Toledo, that is, in the city which had been the center of the Visigothic reign in Spain. When the same opera was performed again in the carnival of 1712, with new music by Giuseppe Orlandini, it received another title more indicative of its Gothic theme. It was then called *Ataulfo Re de' Goti overo la Forza della Virtù* and thus revealed itself as a member of a small group of "Gothic" operas which had gone across the stage in the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Cesti's *Genserico* of 1669, Legrenzi's *Totila* of 1677, and Novello Boni's *Odoacre* of 1680, all performed in Venice, were members of this group. And to these must be added *I Rivali generosi* of 1697, with a libretto by Apostolo Zeno, which, notwithstanding its noncommittal title, purported to reproduce an episode in the history of the Visigothic kings. An early example of the spreading of this genre to theatrical centers other than Venice is the performance in 1687 at the theater of the arch-elector in Munich of *Alarico Re dei Goti* by Agostino Stefani. In none of these libretti, to which it would be possible to add others from the eighteenth century, is there any sign that the stage was to be adjusted to the style of the historical period portrayed. What was possible in Bologna, because of local traditions which we will try to trace, was not possible as yet in other cities. It is significant, on the other hand, that Chiarini's theatrical revival of Gothic was still in need of a historical justification, given in terms of the usual derivation of mediaeval architecture from the building activities of the barbaric tribes. The time had not come as yet when theatrical designers would dare to range freely over historical styles, employing them according to the dictates of the moods they wanted to create.

It was Chiarini's greater Bolognese colleague Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena, the founder of the famous family of theatrical specialists, who inaugurated this new phase in the history of art, for his employment of Gothic is independent of the limitations of operatic iconography. He combined Chiarini's new-found *scena al angolo* with the latter's re-creation of mediaeval design,⁵ and thus found himself in the position to render Gothic structure without regard for the formalities of a symmetrical design. He was thus enabled to exploit mediaeval forms for the suggestion of an emotional state. Among the "Gothic" designs which we have from his pen, dating from the earliest years of the eighteenth century, there are several in which the mediaeval mood is called upon to underline the brooding horror of a prison scene;⁶ in one the lofty proportions of the pointed arch

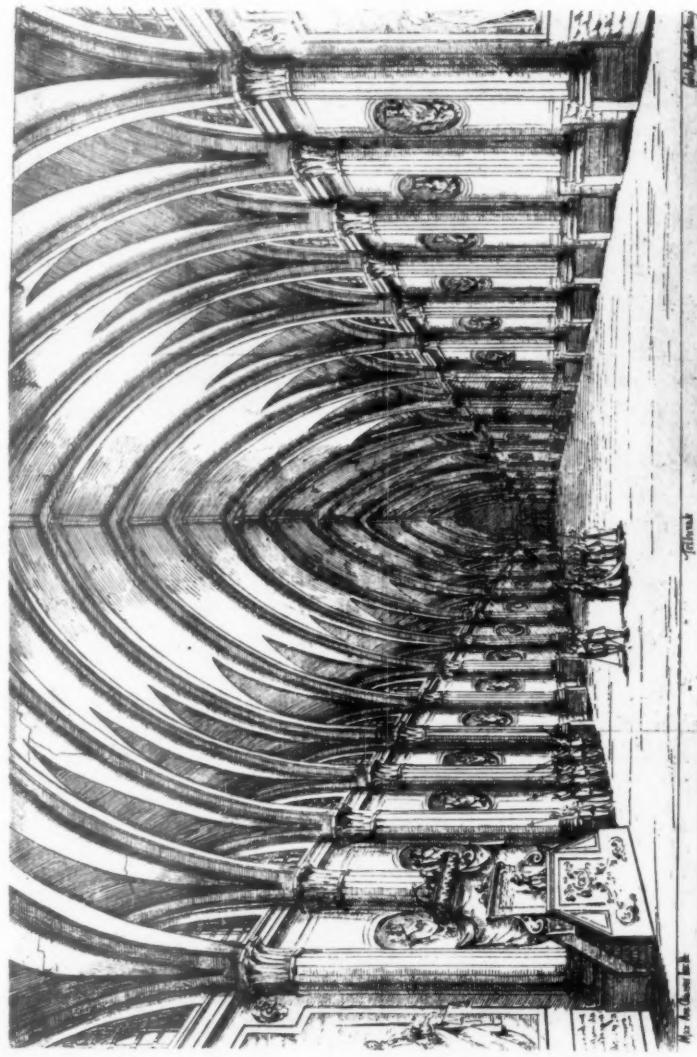
5. The priority of Chiarini cannot, of course, be established beyond reasonable doubt, our argument being one *a silencio*. We possess too few seventeenth century stage designs connected with definite performances to be able to speak with certainty. It does seem, however, that in 1690, when he made some of the designs for the performance in Parma of *Il Favore dei Dei*, Ferdinando was not as yet aware of the *scena al angolo*, for his designs were strictly symmetrical. It would also seem,

generally speaking, that Chiarini's "iconographic" employment of the new devices must precede Ferdinando's free use of them.

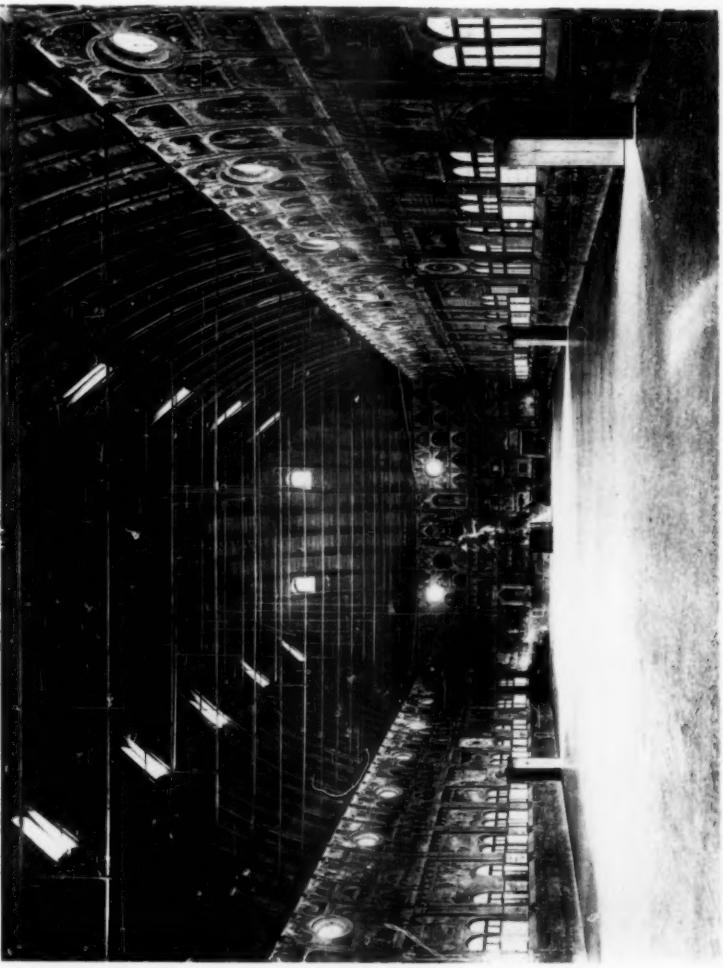
6. *Graphische Sammlung*, Munich, Bibbiena Vol. III, p. 36v. All the drawings in question are part of a large group which the *Graphische Sammlung* inherited from the former royal collections of Bavaria and indirectly from the *Kabinett* in Mannheim, which owned them in the eighteenth century. Since



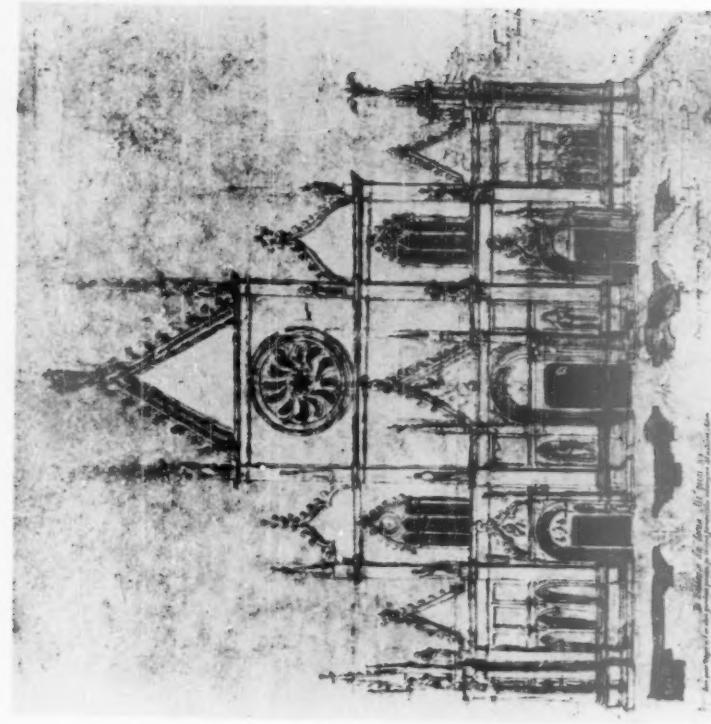
3. Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, A Gothic stage design
Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Early xviii century



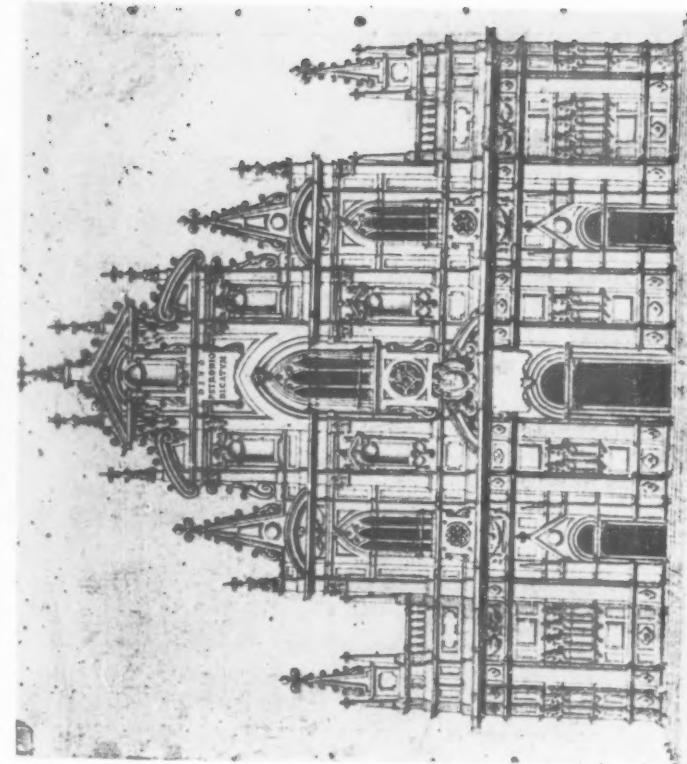
1. Marcantonio Chiarini, Stage set for performance in Bologna of the opera "Le Forze della Virtù," 1694



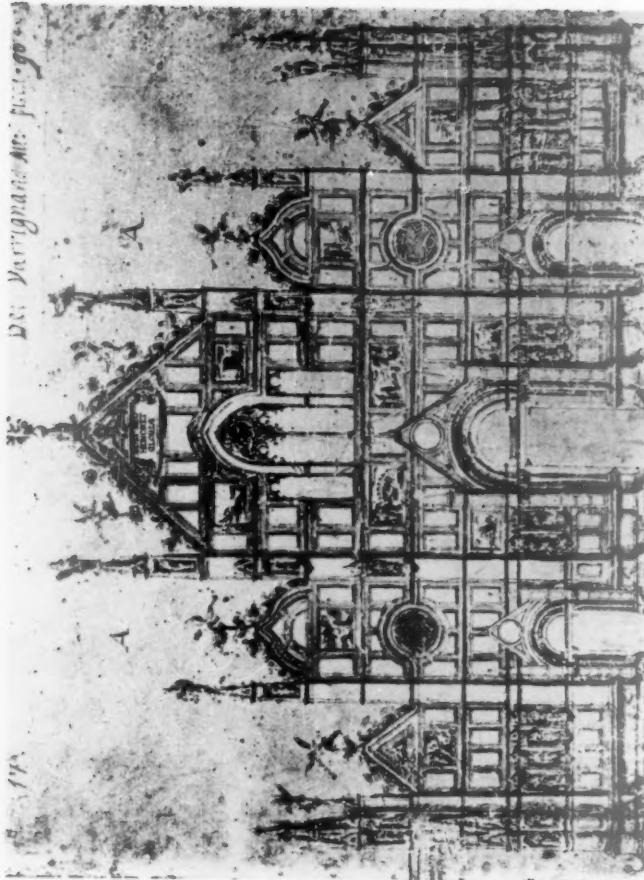
2. "Il Salone" Padua. XIII century



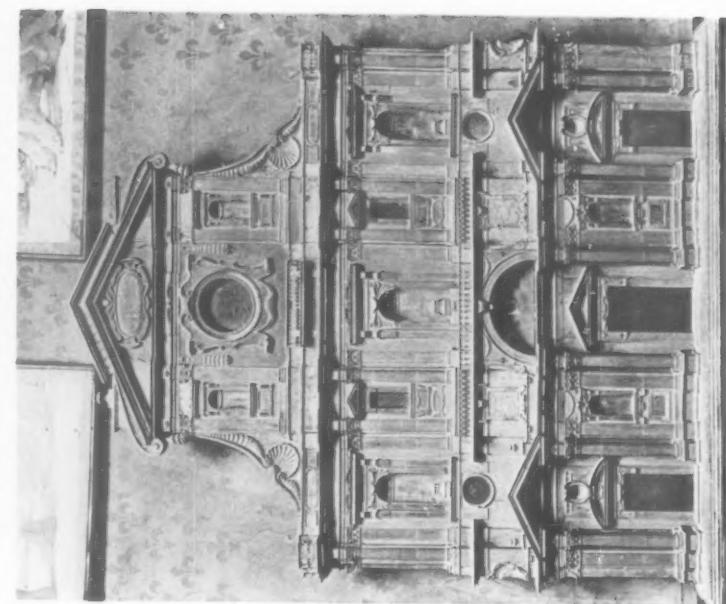
4. Domenico da Varignana, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1518. Copy by Ercole Procaccini



5. Baldassare Peruzzi, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1523



6. Girolamo Rainaldi, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1626



7. Girolamo Rainaldi, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1626

are used to add to the stateliness of a palatial court yard;⁷ and others again are derived from Gothic church architecture, such as the curious drawing in Munich (Fig. 3) which is a paraphrase upon the interior of the cathedral of Milan, with its canopied and figure-laden capitals; it shows in addition a study of a flamboyant window and of the ground plan and elevation of a complex pier with its attendant pilaster shafts.⁸

These Gothic drawings by the greatest exponent of the theatrical baroque are the first examples in the history of art of the deliberate choice by an artist among various architectural styles, preceding corresponding specimens in England. They mark an initial step toward the eclecticism of the nineteenth century. In some instances they even show an elaboration on the same sheet of stylistic alternatives,⁹ exhibiting side by side proposals for different versions of the same set, one classical, one Gothic: alternatives, which had not existed for previous artists. It may be regarded as significant that it was thus a theatrical designer who first attained the dubious licence of choosing between different architectural styles, for the stage did not impose upon the purveyors of its short-lived illusions the same responsibilities which fell upon the real architect. No more hampered by considerations of traditional decorum than he was by structural necessities, he found himself at liberty to design his often fantastic canvas structures for effect alone. The stylistic licence permitted to him did therefore not extend to real architecture, which in Italy at least adhered to the principles of classical design throughout the eighteenth century. Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena's stylistic revolution was thus of limited scope. But a revolution it was, and its effects upon stage design were felt in Italy and abroad, wherever Ferdinando's widespread and pervasive influence extended. We shall not deal with it here.

II

The question imposes itself: What was it that gave to Bologna the strange distinction of being the host to the first Gothic revival movement anywhere in Europe? Was there, one is prompted to ask, a local survival of Gothic forms, which kept the memory of mediaeval art alive, and thus encouraged the artists in their quest for the past? In England the survival of Gothic forms in the works of Wren and his compeers lasted almost into the time when the first mediaeval "ruins" sprang up to add their melancholy appeal to the attractions of romantic garden scenery. Was there something similar in Bologna? The answer to this question involves the long and intricate history of Bologna's principal church, San Petronio.¹⁰

At the time when Chiarini designed his first stage set in the mediaeval mode, the Gothic vaults of the main nave of San Petronio were only a few decades old, having been erected between 1646 and 1658 under the supervision of Girolamo Rainaldi. They bear witness to an astounding continuity of style, for there is nothing in their tall and spacious forms, that could be regarded as inconsistent with the mediaeval design of the whole. Pure rib constructions, unusual only because of their extraordinary height, contribute greatly to one of the most satisfactory Gothic church interiors in Italy. Only the apse, which also dates from the seventeenth century, exhibits evidence of uncertainty in the handling of Gothic forms, for the architect retained the semicircular shape with which he was familiar, and inserted segmental rib vaults into it, thus producing a hybrid construction, one that kept only a distant semblance of mediaeval design.

While the apse and the vaults were thus the last structural additions to the church, interest

in the course of the recent bombings all records of their history and of research on them were lost, their attribution to Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena must rest on the author's own analysis, which will be presented in another article.

7. *ibid.*, II, p. 73.

8. *ibid.*, III, p. 47.

9. *ibid.*, II, p. 112.

10. For this history see: A. Springer, *Bilder aus der neueren*

Kunstgeschichte, Bonn, 1867; L. Weber, *San Petronio in Bologna*, Leipzig, 1904; A. Gatti, *La Basilica Petroniana*, Bologna, 1913; E. Panofsky, *Das erste Blatt aus dem Libro Giorgio Vasari's. Eine Studie über die Beurteilung der Gotik in der italienischen Renaissance*, Staedel Jahrbuch, VI, 1930, pp. 48-53; G. Zucchini, *Disegni antichi e moderni per la facciata di San Petronio in Bologna*, Bologna, 1933.

in its adornment in the Gothic style continued, for in about 1725 Gioacchino Pizzoli (1651-1733), a former collaborator of Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena,¹¹ painted one of the side chapels of the church in a style that is a mixture of high Gothic elements with the exuberant but calculated baroque of Bolognese *quadratura* art (Fig. 12). As late as 1748 another theatrical specialist, Mauro Tesi, (1730-66), won a competition for a prize by the *Accademia delle Belle Arti* in Bologna by submitting a "Gothic" design for the façade of San Petronio.¹² One will appreciate how strong must have been the tradition of the survival in Bologna by considering that it compelled even an art academy, normally the guardian of classical punctilio, to align itself publicly with the proponents of mediaeval art.

Actually, the construction of the rib vaults in the main nave of San Petronio was the last phase in a long drawn-out tragi-comedy, acted by prominent architects, with the public as an answering chorus, over the theme of the retention of Gothic in the midst of a cultural environment that had fallen out of sympathy with it. There had been from the beginning of the sixteenth century an extraordinary series of controversies among architects, to which the Bolognese citizens contributed their share at times, inflating what might have been a mere professional disagreement into a matter of large scale factional strife. If they did nothing else, these discussions served to keep the problem of Gothic alive in the consciousness of the Bolognese; for the case of San Petronio was a perennially scandalous *cause célèbre*, unforgettable in a city as immersed in local memories and as eager to record them as was Bologna in the centuries after the Renaissance. It has been rightly stated by Panofsky¹³ that this protracted controversy over the problem of Gothic was possible only in a North Italian city located far enough from the transalpine centers of the survival to regard Gothic as anomalous, yet, unlike Florence and Rome, close enough to its own mediaeval past to feel obliged to continue it.

The interest of the public in the construction of San Petronio was a recurrent and sometimes a very serious cause of annoyance for the *ingegnere di fabbrica*, who was compelled to defend his work against what he was bound to regard as inexpert criticism. Arduino Ariguzzi, for instance, who was head architect in the second decade of the sixteenth century, had the bad luck of displeasing a section of the public through his construction of the side portals on the low bases customary in the Italian fourteenth century. The result was a hue and cry among the people, including, in Ariguzzi's words, "priests, monks, workmen, peasants, weavers, school teachers, handymen, and even water carriers," who all felt entitled to put in a word of uncalled-for advice, and who succeeded, by their meddling, in having the portals torn down and replaced by others with a base as high as that of the central door.¹⁴ At other times the popular pressure was exerted on behalf of the retention of mediaeval forms. In 1577 the head of the building fabric, Count Pepoli, was compelled to inform the great Palladio, with whose artistic preferences he himself agreed, that his classical design for the façade of the church had run into criticism by the mediaeval-minded faction of the public and must be withdrawn.¹⁵ A climax of contention was reached in 1589, when the head architect Francesco Terribilia found himself opposed by one Carlo Carazzi, called Il Cremona, a tailor by trade and a man of deep-seated conviction, who pleaded on behalf of what he thought were the laws of Gothic art that the vaults which Terribilia had begun were too low and should be replaced by others of far greater height. This time the turmoil was so great that the rumor of it reached the Papal court, causing Cardinal Montalto, the nominal head of the building fabric, to invite both contestants to defend their cause before a panel of experts in Rome. The invitation was not heeded, although the curia was so eager to compose the quarrel that it sent four letters to Bologna with that effect

11. Quadrio (*Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia*, Milan, 1744, III, p. 542) remarks that Pizzoli worked with Ferdinando on many scenic designs, notably on the Bolognese performance in 1709 of *L'Inimico Generoso*. He also worked in Paris for Louis XIV and the Duc de Nevers.

12. Zucchini, *op.cit.*, p. xxv. 13. E. Panofsky, *loc.cit.*

14. L. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

15. E. Panofsky, *loc.cit.*, interprets the situation as a sociological one, with the aristocracy maintaining the tenets of the Renaissance, and the lower classes the local Gothic heritage.

in mind. We learn from one of them¹⁶ that the tailor had assembled a considerable following not only among the craftsmen of the city—which would have been natural considering his calling—but among the aristocracy as well.

The outcome was that in 1595 the curia, seeing that neither party was ready to give in, forbade the continuation of current work on the vaults, deferring it to a time when passions would have cooled down. But even thirty years later, when the matter was taken up again, the ghosts of Terribilia and the tailor stalked the halls of San Petronio; for Girolamo Rainaldi, who was asked to continue where Terribilia had left off, felt obliged to adopt his predecessor's opinion, while the men of the building fabric seem to have been won over to the tailor's stand. Step by step they compelled the architect to accept a gradual heightening of the vault, until a proportion was reached which approximated that demanded by Il Cremona. It may well be that the strange docility with which Rainaldi conceded each successive departure from his own point of view was due to his conviction that people as notoriously untractable as were the Bolognese in matters relating to the architecture of San Petronio could be handled successfully only if one were prepared to yield to all but their most unreasonable demands.

Besides the controversies between architects and public there were the others between the artists themselves, caused partly by their own uncertainty in handling an obsolete style, partly by vacillations among the *fabbricieri* who insisted upon the retention of Gothic, but were unable to cope with it. In order to overcome their own uncertainty, they gave to the local masters, upon whom they naturally relied, associates, usually "foreigners" of more solid fame, who could be relied upon to handle successfully the vexed problem of Gothic design.¹⁷ The names of those who were thus invited and who accepted employment at San Petronio included some of the most distinguished in the history of Renaissance architecture: Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, Vignola, Palladio; and to these one might have had to add that of Michelangelo, were it not that his resentment over the fate of the statue of Julius II, which had been placed over one of the portals of San Petronio and destroyed by the rabble a short time hence, prevented him from heeding the call.¹⁸

The names of those with whom these masters were teamed are as insignificant as those of their colleagues were great: Seccadenari, Ranuzzi, Terribilia, to mention only those who played an active part in the quarrels which resulted from such uneven loading of artistic capabilities.

For the plan of the *fabbricieri* to distribute responsibility miscarried. They had not realized that when it came to Gothic architecture, nobody could be regarded as an expert, and that, since there was no authority on which one could rely, and therefore no acceptable systems of values, even the greatest architect would find himself defenseless against attacks by the uninformed and incompetent. As a consequence power reverted from the superior personality to local politics and local prejudice. Peruzzi, who had submitted a number of worthy proposals for both the façade and the nave of the church, found himself defeated by his inferior Seccadenari on the grounds that he had failed to adjust his design to existing mediaeval parts; Giulio Romano's contribution was rejected outright; and between Vignola and his colleague Ranuzzi an embittered quarrel broke out, which even after Ranuzzi's death caused the dismissal on grounds of incapacity of the greatest architect who ever reached maturity within the walls of Bologna. Only Palladio and Terribilia seem to have arrived at some measure of cooperation, difficult as the accommodation to an inferior colleague must have been for a man as deeply entrenched in the principles of his art as Palladio; but their common effort was defeated by the unreadiness of the Bolognese to accept an admittedly feeble compromise design.

16. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

17. This only repeats the situation that prevailed elsewhere, notably in the early stages of the construction of the cathedral of Milan. Part time employment of other than local masters had been a common practice since the early fourteenth century,

and reflects the rising prestige of the great master masons and architects. See J. Harvey, *The Gothic World 1100-1600*, London, 1950, p. 28.

18. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

Posthumously, however, the great masters who labored in vain for San Petronio scored a victory over their mediocre opponents, for awareness of what they had been ready to contribute helped to prevent the execution of rival designs. To this day the façade of San Petronio, upon which most of the controversy centered, stands unfinished, a vast expanse of bare brick.

III

The decision of the councilmen and clergy of Bologna to erect a large church for the patron saint of their town came late in the history of mediaeval architecture, for in 1390, when the cornerstone was laid, the great Tuscan cathedrals were either finished or far advanced, and even the belated venture of the cathedral of Milan was on its way. As usual in the Middle Ages, when a great church was to be built, the Bolognese were ambitious to surpass the dimensions of recent and contemporary structures, while eager to take advantage of what could be learned from them. It was decided, consequently, to send the *maestro di fabbrica*, Antonio de Vicenzo, both to Florence and to Milan to enable him to acquaint himself with the rival projects in progress there. Thus from the beginning San Petronio was laid out in full consciousness of recent trends in Lombard and Tuscan architecture, and an eclectic approach was initiated which was to guide the efforts of subsequent designers as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

That Antonio made good use of his opportunity by familiarizing himself with Florentine church architecture is evident from those parts of the great church which he himself designed, that is, besides the layout of the whole, from the shape of the main arcatures and the proportion of side isles, done before the slow-down of work that took place in the early sixteenth century. He envisaged San Petronio as an example of Florentine art on foreign soil, a paraphrase, with appropriate improvements, upon Arnolfo di Cambio's cathedral. He took from it the vast proportion of the nave, the broad and majestic spacing of its pillars, their unusual form and the form of the elongated Corinthian capitals. He seems to have intended also to follow his model in the design of the dome over the crossing, but no direct evidence for this part of his plans has survived.¹⁹

Over a hundred years later (1515) another head architect, Arduino Ariguzzi, was sent to Florence to study Brunelleschi's dome, and this time a record seems to have been preserved of what he had learned, for there exists a wooden model of the Bolognese church (Fig. 10), which probably stems from his hand.²⁰ One cannot fail to be impressed by the supreme ambition embodied in this design, for the church was to be capped by a dome larger even than Brunelleschi's masterpiece, and it was to expand into two widely projecting transepts, both three-aisled, flanked by side chapels, and faced by fully developed and turreted façades. One can well imagine how great must have been the blow to Bolognese pride when, after having indulged in such grandiose plans, they learned in 1562 that Pius IV had commanded the erection of the Archiginnasio where one of the transepts should have been, putting an end to all dreams of an effective eastern culmination of the whole.

Of the parts of Ariguzzi's model his proposal for the west front interests us most, since it was the first of a long series of rival designs for the façade, which was to extend far into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Once more Tuscan features were to be paramount, for like those of the cathedrals in Orvieto and in Siena this façade was to be crowned by triangular gables over each nave, each reflected and rendered more emphatic by the presence of a corresponding decoration over the door beneath. As in Orvieto the gable over the central portal was to push beyond

19. See the most recent attempt to reconstruct this model in G. Giovannoni, "Considerazioni architettoniche su S. Petronio di Bologna," *Miscellanea di storia d'arte in onore di I. Supino*, Florence, 1933, p. 165.

20. Besides Giovannoni see I. Supino, *L'Architettura sacra in Bologna nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Bologna, 1919, p. 93; and I. Supino, *L'Arte nelle chiese di Bologna*, Bologna, 1932, p. 317, with illustrations on pp. 329 and 330.

the horizontal division separating the levels of the façade. It does not seem likely, however, that Siena and Orvieto were the only sources upon which Ariguzzi drew, for like Arnolfo di Cambio's design for the façade of Florence cathedral, which it is possible to reconstruct from later traces,²¹ his model had three round windows, placed beneath the gables over the main divisions of the front. It would seem likely that this detail, which relates San Petronio to an early phase of planning for the Florentine church, and with it perhaps the whole elevation of Ariguzzi's façade may have been prefigured in Antonio di Vicenzo's original design.

In other respects, however, Ariguzzi's façade differs from its foreign models. In spite of the steepness of its crowning triangles it has an air of repose, which is at variance with Tuscan sentiment. Both the cathedrals of Siena and of Orvieto detach themselves proudly and almost abruptly from their environments, since their vertical outlines are predominant in determining their effect. In Bologna, however, there was to be a continuous procession of slanting roof lines dwarfing aspiring verticals, for the motive of the triangular gable, once introduced over the main divisions of the church, was to appear once more on a lower plane over the side chapels. In spite of disruptions due to declining levels of the elevation there was to be an intermittent continuity of line, a handling of Tuscan motives which was in keeping with the traditions of Northern Italy, with its preference for one simple slanting gable hiding the division of side aisle and clearstory.²²

After Ariguzzi's façade the first project of which we have record in pen and ink is Varignara's of 1518 (Fig. 4). It comes as something of a shock, marking, as it does, a departure not only from its predecessor of a few years before, but also from all that we have come to expect from a conventional church façade. It is surprising enough to see the proportions changed from slenderness to comparative squatness and inertia. More striking is the manner in which the surface of the wall is treated: it is studded with rectangular projections which cover it at regular intervals, as if it were a page in an album of postage stamps. Instead of enhancing the appearance of the façade these projections rivet the eye and thus prevent any sense of continuity. Their disrupting effect is extended to the buttresses, which are also cut into rectangles of approximately equal size, and thus deprived of their verticality. Most disastrous of all, at irregular intervals these *bugne*, as they were called by writers of the sixteenth century, are replaced by reliefs, which instead of projecting are inlaid, and thus neutralize the forward movement of the inverse parts. None of these representational units, which are distributed at random, have the same width as the rusticated stones, and several possess vertical outlines, which do not coincide with any of the many minor and major subdivisions in the façade.

In a project dating from the period of the High Renaissance all this is baffling indeed, even if one takes into account that by 1518, when the design was made, the first Mannerist symptoms in terms of contradiction and arbitrariness were beginning to make themselves felt in Florentine—but not yet in Bolognese—art. It would be a relief to our outraged sense of style, were it possible to assign to this extravagant design a later date, particularly since the drawing is not an original from Varignara's hand, but a copy made by Ercole Procaccini in the seventeenth century.²³ This relief is denied to us, for Varignara's name is linked with the operation undertaken some decades later of incorporating the rustications he had designed into the body of the church. Some work to this effect seems to have been begun under Ranuzzi's leadership, for in a letter of 1543 Vignola took him to task for this lapse of judgment. After the quarrel of these two men had ended with

²¹ W. Paatz, *Die Trecentoarchitektur in Toskana*, Burg B. M., 1937, fig. 98a. See also M. Weinberger, "The First Façade of the Cathedral of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1941.

²² For Gothic examples of this tradition see, among many others, the façade of the cathedral of Milan, of the cathedrals in Crema and Cremona (P. Toesca, *Il Trecento*, Turin, 1951,

figs. 73 and 76), of the Collegiata in Monza (*ibid.*, fig. 80) or of San Francesco in Pavia (*ibid.*, fig. 77).

²³ Although it is not known whether the copy is by Ercole Procaccini the Elder (1515-1595) or by his grandson by the same name (1596-1676), the style of the drawing makes an attribution to the latter extremely likely.

the disappearance of both from the battlefield, the *fabbricci*, confronted with a dearth of new ideas, decided in 1556 to return to Varignara's scheme; two rows of his *bugne* and between them the canopies which he had designed were then carried out, as the only part of the decorations of the wall which were to see the light of day. But the presence there of what can be described only as an initial sample of Varignara's design was to have an incalculable effect upon the future of the façade, for henceforth each architect had to decide for himself whether his conscience would permit him to continue what had been done. The different answers given to this problem by men of greater or lesser sensibility were among the chief causes for the ensuing quarrels; and it is fair to say, therefore, that Varignara's "Gothic" design, or rather the ill-advised stubbornness with which the *fabbricci* clung to it, was one of the chief causes for the failure of the Bolognese to carry the decoration of the façade beyond the initial stage.

Granted all this, we are left with the question of what could have prompted Varignara to defy the artistic convictions of his time in submitting his unique and preposterous design. The answer should not be too far to seek, for it is clear that he too, like his predecessors Antonio di Vicenzo and Ariguzzi, attempted to link his design with the traditions of Florentine mediaeval art. One need only compare his rustications—upright ones rather than recumbent like those familiar from Florentine palaces and from the Palazzo Bevilacqua in Bologna—with the corresponding inlaid configurations in the exterior flank of Florence cathedral to realize whence his inspiration came. The *bugne* are three-dimensional reproductions of the colored rectangles inherited from the Florentine proto-Renaissance; and it is characteristic for the faithfulness with which he adhered to his mediaeval prototype, that he treated even the relation of his ornaments to the round windows exactly as the successors of Arnolo di Cambio had done in the clearstory of the Florentine cathedral. Following their lead he broke his rectangles and made their outlines correspond to the curvature of the circle enclosed by them. But what had been well justified in Florence, because the ornament had no momentum and thus was unable to compete with the broader rhythm of large and deeply set oculi, became in Varignara's hand one more irritating artistic defect, for his rustications have the forward impetus of projecting parts and thus should not be broken by the inactive, shallow expanse of a small and flat-faced windowpane.

There remains the question of what could have prompted Varignara to convert the flat divisions of the Florentine proto-Renaissance into projections, creating what to this writer's knowledge is the only rusticated church façade ever submitted anywhere in the history of Christian art. No architect trained in the basic assumptions of his craft could have been unaware that rustication was a strictly secular device, suited for palaces, prisons, mints and city gates, but out of place on the front of a church. Therefore when a man like Varignara chose to defy an unwritten law of his art, he must have been convinced that the extraordinary nature of his task demanded an unconventional approach. He knew, of course, that rustication, as its name suggested, was a device meant to bring architecture from the plane of civilized urban life to the more elementary level of natural phenomena.²⁴ By applying rustication to what he conceived to be a mediaeval façade he must have meant to express his conviction that Gothic also was like a product of nature, a thing amorphous and uncouth, that called for the application of roughly informal design. Unfortunately he believed both in rustication and in the geometrical shapes of the Florentine proto-Renaissance, and thus was moved to produce a façade that is both rigid and rugged, repetitious and rudimentary, the typical outcome of the simultaneous application of two irreconcilable principles. Only when it came to arranging the distribution of reliefs, did Varignara regain his freedom from the straitjacket of his Florentine loyalties, for their irregular grouping illustrates successfully the allegedly unreasoned and fortuitous character of Gothic art.

24. E. Kris, "Der Stil 'Rustique,'" *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Neue Folge, 1, 1926.

We find thus that, although he was not consistent in applying it, Varignara was an early exponent of the point of view, so well represented in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which saw in Gothic architecture a thing grown rather than constructed, close to the casual appearance of natural phenomena, and thus without rule or rationality. That point of view was not unknown in Varignara's time: witness Vasari's famous preamble to the *Vite*, in which he inveighs not only against the alleged barbarity of the mediaeval style, but also against "its confusion and disorder," "its rule without rules," which renders it capable of any arbitrary infraction against the laws of art. An even earlier exponent of the "natural" theory of Gothic was the writer of the letter to Pope Julius II, often identified with Raphael, who was the first to explain the rise of Gothic vaulting from the tying together of uncut intersecting branches in a forest: a theory of origins which linked the outmoded architecture rather charmingly with the arbors and pergolas of Renaissance horticultural art. It has gone unnoticed that this explanation is itself an outgrowth of contemporary Gothic art, which by the end of the fifteenth century had reached its naturalistic phase; for to transform pillars or ribs into a semblance of roughly cut stems and branches had become a form of eccentricity among the architects of German hall churches,²⁵ and in Spain a whole church façade, that of San Gregorio in Valladolid, had been converted into a riot of vegetable forms complete to the outermost tendrils.²⁶

Such things were by no means unknown in Italy and one of its greatest artists, Leonardo da Vinci, had made conscious use of the ambiguity between Gothic vaulting and the interweaving of branches in a pergola in conceiving one of his ornamental designs: his painted decoration for the *Sala delle Asse* in the *Castel Sforzesco* in Milan²⁷ is both a net vault springing out of the pillars of a church and a delicately embroidered filigree of branches and flowers in the tradition of fleurette tapestries (Fig. 14). So similar, in fact, is it to the theoretical suggestion by the pseudo-Raphael, that one may well ask oneself whether this famous letter, if not composed by Leonardo himself, has not at least been closely inspired by his art.

The equivalence of hedges and pergolas with real architecture was a commonplace in North Italy during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: witness the artistically pruned hedges in the background of Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria* and of his *Battle of Virtue and Vice*, but also the queen's mansion in the *Hypnerotomachia Polyphili*,²⁸ which is entirely a garden, possessing all its openness and charm, without prejudice to its quality as a richly appointed palace.

It is almost a little embarrassing to find Varignara's façade in company as grand as this. But whatever one may think of the difference of quality involved in the comparison, it must not be held against his work nor against the explanation here offered for his idiosyncrasies that Varignara was innocent of the delicacy of Leonardo's design and of the slenderness of Gothic forms. It is certain that the comparative inertia of his proportions was intentional and that he would have defended it, if challenged, as typical of mediaeval art. As yet no distinction had been drawn between what we call Gothic and the earlier more compact architectural styles, all of which were referred to indiscriminately as "German" or as "modern" art; and even though the term "Gothic" was as yet not in general use,²⁹ the very fact that it could be introduced as a synonym for the other

25. See as an instructive example the vaults of the church in Pirna, where the ribs are treated as tree branches held by wild men (C. Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreiches Sachsen*, 1, Dresden, 1883). I owe the knowledge of this decoration to Professor P. Frankl. Similar transformations are frequent in the works of the master H. W., such as the "Tulpenkanzel" in Freiberg (W. Hentschel, *Meister H. W.*, Leipzig, 1936, fig. 11) or the portal of the Schlosskirche in Chemnitz, where all architectural divisions are transformed into tree branches (*ibid.*, fig. 13). It must be conceded that these extreme examples date from somewhat later than Leonardo's application

of the same principle.

26. The Marquis de Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispanico*, II, 1934, pl. xxxix. See also San Pablo in Valladolid (*ibid.*, p. 538) and other Spanish buildings of the late fifteenth century.

27. L. Beltrami, *Leonardo da Vinci e la Sala delle Asse nel Castello di Milano*, Milan, 1902.

28. Pp. Fiiii and following in the facsimile edition, London, 1904.

29. See E. S. de Beer, "Gothic, Origin and Diffusion of the Term. The Idea of Style in Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xi, 1948.

terms betrays an extraordinary lack of awareness of the differences that exist between the various phases of mediaeval art. Those who used the term to refer to buildings of the recent past, while cognizant of its derivation from the misdeeds of the barbaric tribes, treated a thousand years as blithely as if they were one day. It was not hard to justify on such grounds any interpretation of mediaeval architecture, whether it emphasized its inertness or its verticality. Gothic, Romanesque, Carolingian, and Byzantine became all one. Vasari, who like many coiners of new systems became the captive of his own framework of thought, complained that the mediaeval architects "had gone to the extremes of squatness and of slenderness, just as it happened to turn out best for them." His denunciation is an admission of defeat before a historical diversity, which the categories of his thinking had not taught him to comprehend.³⁰

Not before the end of the seventeenth century was some measure of order brought into this hitherto chaotic field of knowledge, for it was then that Félibien the Younger split the concept of Gothic into two component parts: "Gothique Ancien" and "Gothique Moderne,"³¹ the first roughly equivalent with what we call Romanesque and pre-Romanesque, the other with our notion of architecture from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Characteristically he associated these concepts with two separate theories of origin, tracing the massive forms of ancient Gothic to "the rusticity of caverns and crevasses, which the northern people once occupied" and its more modern variant, whose slenderness demanded a different rationale, to the old standby of the intersecting tree branches.³² The identity of rusticity and Gothicism had been previously enunciated by Vincente Carducho in his *Dialogos de la Pintura* of 1633.³³

We have tried to describe the climate of ideas, within which a conception such as Varignara's could originate. Considering the enormous latitude that existed for different opinions about Gothic architecture, we will not be too surprised to hear that of the architects who were called upon to pass upon the merits of Varignara's scheme the two whose estimate we do possess took diametrically opposed views. One of these was Vignola, the other Palladio.

When Vignola was asked to assist in the planning of the elevation of San Petronio, he had just come from Paris, where he could not have failed to be impressed by the existing monuments of Gothic architecture as well as by the continued application of its principles in the construction of St. Eustache. Accustomed as he was to the sight of Gothic art in its most soaring immaterial form, he could not be expected to show much sympathy for Varignara's façade, which was not only pedestrian and stereotyped but also a denial of what Paris had taught him about the character of mediaeval art. He disliked the *bugne* which Ranuzzi had just begun to install. But while he did not hesitate to speak his mind about them, he could not express his disapproval in other than Vitruvian terms, which provided him with the only architectural language he knew. His terminology is taken from the discussion of the orders of columns and from that strange theory of architectural temperament or, if you will, of the sex characteristics of different styles, which had been one of the Vitruvian tenets and which had been picked up eagerly by Renaissance theorists.³⁴

30. Panofsky, *loc.cit.*, maintains that Vasari meant to refer to the lack of any pervasive system of proportions in individual Gothic buildings.

31. J. F. Félibien, *Recueil historique de la vie et les ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes*, London, 1705, preface, p. A6: "A l'égard des bâtiments Gothiques il n'y a point d'auteurs qui en ayent donné des règles; mais on remarque deux sortes de bâtiments Gothiques, savoir anciens et modernes. Les plus anciens n'ont rien de recommandable que leur solidité et grandeur. Pour les modernes, ils ont un goût si opposé à celui des anciens Gothiques qu'on peut dire que ceux qui les ont faits ont passé dans un aussi grand excès de délicatesse que les autres avoient fait dans une extrême pésanteur et grossiereté, particulièrement en ce qui regarde les ornements." An illustration of these two opposed kinds of Gothic is to be found in the undated book by Fr. Cuvilliés the Younger, *Ecole de l'architecture bavaroise*

(about 1775), pl. 208.

32. J. F. Félibien, *Les Plans et les descriptions de deux des plus belles maisons de campagne de Pline le consul, avec des remarques sur tous ces bâtiments et une dissertation touchant l'architecture antique et l'architecture gothique*, Amsterdam, edition of 1706, p. 117.

33. "There is a form of architecture not practiced any more, called rustic, which has been invented by the Austro-goths and thus was named Gothic architecture." Quoted from E. S. Beer, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

34. See, for instance, the illustrations by Francesco di Giorgio (S. Brinton, *Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena*, London, 1934, 1, pl. 12) showing the origin of the Corinthian column from the feminine form. The scrolls constituting the capital have in this instance a curiously "Gothic" shape.

San Petronio, so he pointed out, "is a fabric neither of the Tuscan nor of the Doric species, that is of either of the two orders which go with the application of rusticated ornament, because they imitate rustic virility and not that feminine delicacy which is reflected in the Ionian, the Corinthian, and the composite styles. It is necessary, therefore, to avoid rustication in modern (that is in Gothic) buildings which are so much more attenuated and delicate than are those done in the other styles. . . . All that comes from applying such ornament where it is not supposed to be, will be dissonance, disproportion, and increase in expense."³⁵

Gothic, for him, then, is an extreme application of a kind of proportion found otherwise only in the composite and Corinthian orders, but going beyond the limits of attenuation permitted in the Vitruvian canon. One step further in the theoretical assimilation of mediaeval art to its classical prototype and we will hear Terribilia say in a letter to the building fabric of San Petronio, that "German" architecture, as exemplified in the Bolognese church, is altogether only a version—degenerate, no doubt—of the Corinthian style.³⁶ We are far removed as yet from the historical initiative taken by writers of the advanced eighteenth and mainly of the nineteenth century, when they recognized Gothic as an integral system of its own, not to be measured by the alien and inapplicable standards of Vitruvian orthodoxy.

That Palladio was not likely to share Vignola's stand in regard to Varignara's rustication, is amply evident from a letter which he in turn sent to the building fabric of San Petronio, in order to signify his readiness to come to terms with the exigencies of the mediaeval style. He had determined, after having suppressed his very strong initial objections, to make whatever compromise his position at San Petronio demanded, even to the point of combining his own classical with the existing mediaeval design. In his letter he bestows his endorsement upon the work of his colleague Terribilia—although how he could have done so is a riddle, the solution of which has died with him—and then proceeded to enumerate representative examples of the "German" style.³⁷ His list is a miscellany of mediaeval structures, containing, besides buildings which we too call Gothic, such as the *Salone* in Padua and the cathedrals of Milan, Florence, and Orvieto, others that can be put in that category only with difficulty, such as Sant' Antonio in Padua, and the Byzantine church of San Marco in Venice. It is difficult to explain such leveling of obvious and striking distinctions except by attributing it to a deep-seated and comprehensive indifference to the artistic values involved.

Given such readiness to equate the "light" and "heavy" phases of mediaeval architecture, there was little reason why Palladio should not have accepted the *bugne* in Varignara's design. He did so in another letter to the building fabric of San Petronio in which he defended his own intention of erecting Corinthian and composite pilasters over a "mediaeval" base. "No more," said he in rejecting the opinion of those who claimed that parts as discrepant as these could not be harmonized, "is there a natural harmony between the Corinthian and composite and the Rustic and Doric orders respectively, and yet the ancients put one above the other and rightly so, for the lighter and more polished should be above the sturdier and heavier forms."³⁸ Having thus drawn

35. G. Zucchini, "Documenti inediti per la storia del S. Petronio di Bologna," *Miscellanee di storia d'arte in onore di I. Supino*, Florence, 1933, p. 207: "Conciosia cosa che detta fabrica non è toscana né dorica alle quali specie e ordini se gli convengono li rustici ornamenti per imitazione della rustica virilitate et non della delicatezza muliebre: com'è immitato il ionico il corinthio e il composito ornamento, e tanto maggiormente debbesi nel moderno fugir tal rusticchezza per esser più sottili et delicati dell'i altri; alli quali disconviene tale rusticchezza; sicchè per tanto dico tale ornamento non servir ad altro proposito che a far dissonanza e disproporzioni e crescimento di spesa."

36. G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV,*

XVI, Florence, 1840, III, p. 491.

37. *ibid.*, p. 322.

38. *ibid.*, p. 397: "E prima, che per cossa discrepante il ponere ordini Corinthii et Compositi sopra il Tedesco, perchè fra di loro non han convenienza alcuna: a quella gli rispondo che nè anco il Corintio e Composito non han convenienza alcuna con il Rustico e Dorico, tamen gli antichi l'han fatto, ponendogli sopra, e con ragione che il più polito e legiadro stii sopra il più sodo e grave, imitando in questo la natura, madre e maestra di tutte le cose bone, che ne gli alberi le sue cime a ornate di fiori et frondi, et gli piedi di dura cortezza."

an explicit and very telling comparison between the "German" and the rustic style, he proceeded, like Vignola before him, to justify his argument by an organic simile: "For in doing so the ancients imitated nature, the mother and mistress of all good things, which in creating trees confines the flowers and leaves to their upper part, while giving a hard bark to their stems." It is obvious that in interpreting this metaphor, which transfers the anagogical properties of columns to a whole façade, we are to equate the roughness of the stem with the rustic and Gothic part of the façade of San Petronio.

A few words finally about those elements in Varignara's design for which it is necessary to postulate an origin other than from the incrustations and rustications of Florentine art. First among these are the inlaid reliefs; their irregular distribution over the wall was likely inspired by the similarly unplanned appearance of relief decorations in Byzantine, but also in Lombard examples of Romanesque art. It will suffice to remind the reader of the relief decorations in the churches of Pavia, notably San Michele,³⁹ but also of the inlaid plaques in San Marco in Venice in order to point out what Varignara may have had in mind. The suggestion gains in likelihood seeing that Terribilia and Tibaldi, who both worked to systematize Varignara's façade and to bring it up to date, did not shrink from incorporating into their schemes abstract designs of early and high mediaeval origin.⁴⁰ They put these literal reminders of the past in positions roughly equivalent to those in which Varignara had placed his Renaissance reliefs, suggesting that they had only made explicit what the older masters had hidden under a modern veneer.

While there is thus reason to believe that Varignara was sensitive to the high mediaeval past in Northern Italy, his wildly flaring crockets over the gables, which stand in startling contrast to the staid character of the remaining design, are akin, if to anything, to the Venetian Gothic of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴¹ They establish the principle, to which most later competitors were to adhere, that, no matter how the rest were designed, the marginal areas of the façade were to contain the most visible throw-backs to the mediaeval style. Finally there are the double buttresses on the flank of the façade, an emphatic termination, which was to be repeated by most later architects. They were borrowed from the cathedral of Siena, which also offered models for the adornment of the double buttresses with statuary placed on two separate levels.

Only the bouncing angels who cut their capers on Varignara's façade while touching its triangles and ogee arches with one fleeting foot, appear to be his own. They are, however, so precariously balanced and such a peril to the safety of persons passing through the doors beneath, that no conscientious architect could have carried them out.

IV

We have given more space to Varignara's façade than its artistic value warrants because important questions of principle were connected with its history. A somewhat less extended treatment will suffice for evaluating the work of those who followed him, even though several were far more successful than he in coping with the problem of the Gothic style.

Peruzzi, who submitted his four designs for the façade only a few years after Varignara,⁴² was in the happy position of being able to operate unhindered by the conceptions of his predecessor: in 1523, when he began his work, the front of San Petronio showed as yet no other decorations than the unfinished central portal with sculptures by Jacopo della Quercia. He reverted to Ariguzzi's façade, whose proportion and layout he retained, while enlivening it by the application

39. G. Chierici, *Die Skulpturen der Basilika von San Michele Maggiore in Pavia*, Basel, 1947.

found in portals such as that of Santa Maria dei Frari or the Porta della Carta in the Palazzo Ducale.

40. See page 280.

42. G. Zucchini, *Disegni . . .*, pls. 2-5.

41. The closest parallel to their overaccented forms is to be

of exuberant detail. It is clear from the variations which he introduced that, although a Sienese by birth, he did not share Ariguzzi's loyalty to the Tuscan phase of mediaeval art; Gothic, to him, was mainly a North Italian phenomenon centered in the cathedral of Milan and in Venetian churches and palaces. Convinced that mediaeval architecture was distinguished by its variety and playfulness, he indulged in the creation of flaring crockets and at times of finials of extraordinary height and slenderness.⁴³ He broke the unwanted severity of Ariguzzi's prototype by either replacing the oculi over the side aisles with flamboyant windows, or removing the central rose, as Varignara had done, and putting in its stead a square expanse of Gothic mullions and tracery.⁴⁴ What round windows he retained, he made large and endowed with slim tracery, and once he experimented with a revolving design reminiscent of similar whirling shapes in the glass of the cathedral of Milan (Fig. 5).⁴⁵ In addition he relieved the severity of Ariguzzi's steep triangles over the doors and side aisles by trying out ogee arches, simple or with a break between curve and countercurve.⁴⁶

For all of these features except the revolving tracery Peruzzi must have found good examples in Venice, notably for the large square window, which occurs in the festive *piano nobile* of such Venetian palaces as the Ca d'Oro and the Palazzo Ariani.⁴⁷ After Varignara's precedent of appropriating a purely secular device for his design of the façade, this inroad upon the precincts of private architecture cannot come as a surprise, particularly since Peruzzi did not break an iconographic monopoly, as his predecessor had done, but merely borrowed a formal element. No prototype has come to mind for the high and slender campanile of strikingly Gothic design which the artist put on the flank of one of his façades.

The most extraordinary of Peruzzi's designs shows the whole field of the façade filled with scenes from sacred history, which combine with the crockets over the windows and the even more wildly flaring ones over the niches to leave no nook and cranny of the front uncovered.⁴⁸ The drawing seems like a visual expression, in appropriately immoderate terms, of the opinion first pronounced by Vasari and held by many far into the eighteenth century that Gothic was a mere derangement of the ornamental faculty, embellishment allowed to run riot. But even here, where fancy seems to have been given more than its due, Peruzzi was thinking in terms of definite prototypes, for the sacred scenes were to be inlaid in mosaic, and the whole was thus to reflect and surpass the colored splendor and tapestry effect of the façade of Orvieto.⁴⁹ It is conceivable that if we still possessed the model for the front of San Petronio, which Agostino di Duccio made in the third quarter of the fifteenth century,⁵⁰ we would find that Peruzzi's flamboyant all-over design only continued a tendency first introduced by this master of extravagant linear form.

All in all it must be owned that Peruzzi's drawings come closer to recalling the idiom of mediaeval art than did those done by his earlier and later colleagues, even though his love for ornamental flourishes restricted the scope of his re-creative sympathies to its last and least monumental phase. It is true, on the other hand, that this emphasis upon decorative detail limited the relevance of his design by preventing the attainment of that scale of architectural vision, which alone could do justice to a building as large and important in the local scheme of things as San Petronio. Charming as they are, and remarkably faithful to the mediaeval vocabulary of forms, Peruzzi's elevations would have been better suited to a smaller church.

The best that can be said for the design which Giulio Romano and Cristoforo Solari, head architect of the cathedral of Milan, submitted jointly in 1546 is that they steered clear of Peruzzi's

43. *ibid.*, pl. 5. 44. *ibid.*, pl. 4.

45. P. Toesca, *op.cit.*, fig. 82.

46. G. Zucchini, pls. 2 and 3.

47. P. Toesca, fig. 126. 48. G. Zucchini, pl. 5.

49. Peruzzi's second design (Zucchini, fig. 3) has an auto-

graph inscription: "pitture ovvero mosaichi con istorie." Even without this it would be clear from internal evidence that the design here discussed is meant to have a pictorial, not a relief decoration.

50. L. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

faults.⁵¹ The design is indeed of monumental scope, for it subordinates all mediaeval elements to a classical giant order and to the beetling prominence of a central gable suspended above a Gothic arch. But here its merits cease, for its authors—if indeed Giulio had more than a passing hand in it—did not succeed in their effort to force a synthesis of the Gothic and the Classical. The interest of the drawing lies mainly in its pictorial, or to use the language of the eighteenth century, its picturesque quality, for while symmetry is duly preserved in the central parts, it is broken on the left by the addition of a campanile and on the right by the presence of a large polygonal chapel which projects so far that it upsets the usual alignment of parts. The monumental staircase, which lifts the central section above the level of the piazza in front, does not extend to these accessory parts, which thus are left in a state of rambling independence. In order to increase the effect of casualness, part of the façade has been pitched so low that the slanting form of the roof becomes visible beyond its ogee arches and finials, irregularities which are most exceptional in Italian church architecture of the Renaissance.

Two other designs have been linked with Giulio Romano's name, one for the façade (Fig. 9), the other for the adjoining flank of San Petronio, both clearly by the same hand and part of the same scheme.⁵² Since there are neither inscriptions nor pertinent documents which could place the drawings within the history of San Petronio, their attribution will have to remain tentative; but it is plausible enough, for it accounts for the similarity in both designs for the façade of the giant order of Corinthian pilasters and for the peculiar inconsistency, common to both, of placing Ariguzzi's light Gothic canopies over this heavy base. Indicative, furthermore, of Giulio Romano's hand are the gables flattened into horizontal eaves, which hover precariously over the archivolts of the door: the same intentionally indecisive form occurs once more over the central portal of the palace which Giulio built for himself in Mantua.⁵³ A final decision of the case will have to await a study, that has not yet been made, of the reliefs and *sgraffitos* portrayed and their comparison with Giulio's pictorial style in the latter part of his career.

It is certain, at any rate, that this second design for the façade is a masterpiece of great power and monumentality, the one among a series of not always meritorious designs to which an enlightened judgment would have given preference. The fact that the *fabbricieri* were blind to its high qualities has deprived Italy of an outstanding work of art and the city of Bologna of a focus that would have held its own among its towers, churches, and mediaeval palaces.

In contrast to the joint project just discussed this one is nothing if not rational and economical. A small number of stout vertical members suffices to provide a skeleton supporting the few and strongly marked horizontal parts. The Gothic pinnacles have been simplified into pyramids, and ogee arches into Tuscan triangles. Instead of traceried windows either in the main nave or in the side aisles there is a repetition of Ariguzzi's three oculi, two of them possessing the simple forms and heavy columnar spokes of wheel windows of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even the crockets have been systematized: they have lost their flaring shapes and instead appear rounded, full, and self-contained, very much like those which Orcagna designed for the gable over the tabernacle of Orsanmichele.⁵⁴ In short, the artist's stylistic sympathies lie once more with the Tuscan rather than with the Venetian and Lombard variants of mediaeval art.

But Tuscan simplicity was only one of his aims, for his chief concern was the reconciliation of the heavy classical orders with the creation of a vast ornamental expanse, in which they were to

51. G. Zucchini, *op.cit.*, pls. 6 and 7.

52. A third design (Zucchini, pl. 10) is omitted here because it is only a variant upon the façade design by Giulio Romano, with the reliefs suppressed, the pyramids changed back into Gothic finials, and the proportions changed.

53. C. Ricci, *Baukunst und dekorative Plastik der Hoch- und Spätrenaissance in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1923, pl. 52. The arrangement is prepared by Ariguzzi's model for San Petronio,

where the gables over the portals arise not from the flanking piers themselves, but from points adjoining them.

54. P. Toesca, *op.cit.*, fig. 15. Somewhat similar crockets and pyramids instead of finials appear on the tomb of Count Taddeo Pepoli († 1347) in San Domenico in Bologna, dating probably from the beginning years of the sixteenth century (after 1505). See I. Supino, *L'Arte . . .*, p. 192.

receive no more emphasis than is given to other parts. In order to achieve this, he neutralized the upward thrust of the Corinthian pilasters by placing Gothic tabernacles on their surfaces, a tampering with an inviolable tradition with which not only purists will want to take issue. He deprived the architraves of their structural weight by studding them at regular intervals with sculptured quatrefoils, thus converting them into a mere background for intermittent ornament. This Tuscan motive he took from an existing part of the façade, for Antonio di Vincenzo, who supervised the building of the stylobate, had had quatrefoils inserted in its outlying parts.⁵⁵ A similar consideration caused the artist to break away from classical doctrine by suppressing the architrave between the main nave and the side aisle and replacing it by a balcony, reminiscent of the dwarf gallery on the façade of Orvieto,⁵⁶ knowing that its reiterated balusters would neither seem to carry weight nor to be carried, and thus would contribute only to the over-all ornamental effect.

All these dispositions were to help transform the classical skeleton of the façade into a neutral frame, for the front was to be a huge showpiece replete with reliefs that were to cover all its available surfaces. The intention that has been carried out with admirable success was to combine Varignara's localized sculptural decoration with Peruzzi's all-over pictorial design, a problem that was solved by isolating the reliefs within their own flat frames and then aligning them in horizontal and vertical sequences very much as if they were frescoes on the inside of a church. As a result the façade presents itself as a gigantic organized display, to be read like the didactic program in a mediaeval church, even though the reliefs are in the contemporary style of the mid-sixteenth century.

It would not seem likely that a conception as intentionally anachronistic as this could have been devised without definite guidance from examples of mediaeval art, and indeed, the artist himself displays the main source of his inspiration by decorating the frames surrounding his reliefs with inlaid or painted disks alternately round and lozenge-shaped, the same disks which Taddeo Gaddi and other artists of the fourteenth century had placed in the frames of their fresco paintings.⁵⁷ While they bear witness to Giulio's startling *tour de force* of turning a *trecento* ensemble of paintings inside out, they form a fitting internal accompaniment for the quatrefoils of similar inspiration on the architrave.

The second drawing, portraying part of the flank of the church, is a continuation of the first, for it shows the façade as viewed from the side, complete with its pinnacles, canopies, and Corinthian pilasters, and even three of the reliefs have found their place on the pier adjoining the first story in front. The triangles over the chapels, which appear on the façade, and with them the Corinthian pilasters and entablatures are continued over this sector of the church, providing an over-all unity of all external parts. Only the forms within are changed, for the call was now for Gothic windows, and the artist responded to it by designing a rich variant upon types fashionable in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The unity between the Gothic and the classical is thus preserved by subordinating the curvilinear shapes of mediaeval glass

55. *ibid.*, pp. 341-343. Three certainly are by Paolo di Bonaiuto, and two probably by Giovanni di Riguzzo.

56. Closer in time and possibly related to Giulio Romano's design is the wooden model for the cathedral of Pavia done under Bramante's influence, which shows in the façade not only a double dwarf gallery but also three oculi, the outer ones in positions rather different from those found in Giulio's design. See: F. Giannini and C. Modesti, *Il Duomo di Pavia, 1488-1932*, Pavia, 1932. H. O. Foerster, "Bramante's Pläne für den Dom zu Pavia und Santa Maria delle Grazie," *Festschrift für Heinrich Wölfflin*, 1935, pp. 1-29. G. Chierici, "Il Modello del Duomo di Pavia," in *Centro Nazionale Storich. Arch. Boll. Gruppo Lomb.*, 1942, II, pp. 21-24. There is a strong connection between this model, Ariguzzi's for San

Petronio, and the pilgrimage church in Loreto (H. Willich *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien bis zum Tode Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 73).

57. The presence of these disks renders it unlikely that Giulio was inspired by such relief decorations on the outside of churches as those surrounding the central doorways of San Zeno in Verona and San Pietro in Spoleto (C. Ricci, *Romanische Baukunst in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1925, p. 117), which cover only a small section of the wall. Closer to Giulio's conception are the large ivory altarpieces which the brothers Embriachi exported from Venice in the latter part of the fourteenth century, such as the one preserved in the Certosa of Pavia (Alinari, 14353). Here all available spaces up to the three triangular gables are covered with reliefs.

to the strict and straight ones of a Corinthian colonnade: a forced union of stylistic opposites reminiscent of Giulio's and Cristoforo's joint design.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that this is the first of the drawings for San Petronio that offers alternatives for the height of its nave: while the bays adjoining the façade show a clearstory rising high above the side aisles, a continuous and therefore lower roof forms part of the following bays. This division coincides with another one between the newly designed chapels and the adjoining ones faithfully copied after what was in evidence on the site: a double confrontation meant to underline the fact that there were two projects—one antiquated and piecemeal, the other recent and offering a unified concept for all parts of the exterior. We cannot but conclude that the altercations over the height of the church that agitated Bologna in the time of Terribilia and Carazzi had their roots in earlier and perhaps more peaceful disputes which had not flared into the open as long as there was no imminent prospect of constructing the crowning parts of the church. While church fronts in Italy have a way of rising beyond the nave they are meant to shield, the opposite is most exceptional.⁵⁸ Therefore Varignara's low-pitched projects for the façade must indicate a similarly depressed interior; and the same must be said of the churches that would have loomed behind the squat Renaissance fronts projected by Ranuzzi⁵⁹ and later by Palladio,⁶⁰ the latter well below the height which the sixteenth century expected of a three-storied façade. Given such far-reaching consequences of the doctrine of Gothic massiveness, the later contention over the height of the vaults must be said to have been well prepared by the time the first architect, Varignara, implemented his belief by proposing a low, compact façade.

In contrast to Giulio Romano, Vignola designed his project for the façade of San Petronio with the intention of preserving a maximum of Vitruvian punctilio, while leaving only localized and well circumscribed evidence to prove that even this strongly classical design was an example of the Gothic style (Fig. 8). Instead of attempting to merge the two traditions, as Giulio had done, Vignola tried to delimit the spheres in which they were to prevail. As a result he left us a design that is calculated in its measured application of mediaeval elements, "Gothic improved by rules and proportions," to speak in Batty Langley's terms. Alone among all those who tried their hand at a "Gothic" façade, Vignola dispensed with none of the Vitruvian formulas, insisting upon every stylobate, frieze and architrave that the canon demanded, and piling them threefold upon the triple elevation of the façade. The resulting overemphasis upon horizontal lines he counteracted by continuing every vertical sequence of Corinthian shafts into pointed pinnacles above, even the sequence flanking the central door, whose terminus is thus forced to pierce the triangle on top. Doors, windows, and gables he rendered Gothic, the first because they had already been built, the others presumably because this was the minimum concession that could be made to the memory of the founding architect. Yet this man, who so doggedly defended the tenets of Vitruvian orthodoxy, was, as we have seen, not entirely insensible to the appeal of mediaeval art. He expressed his conception of it by decorating the gables with a delicate interlace of twisting lines, a thing without parallel in his century, yet not unfitting as the creation of a man who could not possibly have brought himself to resolve the body of the church into Gothic tracery, and thus was compelled to display what mediaeval elements he felt obliged to adduce, in the accessory parts.

Another hunt for prototypes leads us this time to the interlaced ornaments in Quattrocento books, which, in turn, like the letters in which they are written, go back to samples from Carolingian

58. Among the few examples are Cristoforo Solari's and Giulio's projects for San Petronio, just discussed, and L. B. Alberti's façade of Sant' Andrea in Mantua. About this façade and the reason why it is lower than the elevation of the church, see R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the*

Age of Humanism, 2d ed., London, 1952, p. 48.

59. G. Zucchini, *Disegni . . .*, pl. XIV. This façade, the work of an ignorant dilettante, has been omitted here, since it is entirely in the Renaissance style.

60. R. Pane, *Andrea Palladio*, Turin, 1948, pls. 219-222.

and post-Carolingian times.⁶¹ The idea of decorating parts of a church with a delicate linear design, outlined white upon black, was tried by Alberti in the architraves of the façade of Santa Maria Novella and, on a smaller scale, in the Capella Rucellai.⁶²

It had been taken for granted by most artists up to now, that it was the obligation of those who labored for the good of San Petronio to stay within the limits of the mediaeval style,⁶³ no matter how much they may have been displeased by a stipulation unnatural to their upbringing. Not to have been faithful to the will of the founding architect had been regarded as a very serious failing, sufficient to offer ammunition to anybody set to press his rival claims. It was Palladio, in the seventies of the century, who first flouted this general show of good will, for, when he was called to pass judgment on the designs submitted by Domenico Tibaldi and Terribilia, he felt obliged to draw attention to the insufficiency of what had been done.⁶⁴ It had been ill-advised, in his opinion, to begin erecting the façade in the obsolete style. Now that the mistake had been made, it would be best to pull it down again. When Palladio penned this negative opinion, he was residing in Venice, far from the atmosphere of uncertainty and strife which was the bane of San Petronio. When he arrived on the spot, he himself fell, as we have seen, a victim to the muddy and turbulent local politics, and was prevailed upon to make his compromise with the Gothic style. But not for long: when he realized that even he could not turn the scale in spite of an extraordinary show of complaisance, he reverted to the old stand. Throwing fruitless patience overboard, he lashed out against the "German" style, denouncing it, much as Vasari had done, as "confusion rather than architecture."⁶⁵

Thus for the first time in the history of San Petronio the underlying assumption of Gothic continuity was challenged. The problem of purity of style was posed, a problem that had not existed for the earlier architects. Pellegrino Pellegrini, in a professional opinion of 1582, condemned all attempts at stylistic compromise, while endorsing both the Gothic and the Vitruvian modes, provided they were presented unalloyed. Although he preferred the Vitruvian variant, as was natural for an architect of the sixteenth century, he thought, unlike Varignara or Palladio in his more intransigent mood, that Gothic was "more reasonable than some would believe"; and he added, taking an attitude that had not been met as yet, "Those who use the Gothic style should abide by its rules."⁶⁶

Given this new readiness to recognize basic differences of style, the designs that have come down to us from Palladio's time are bound to fall into three categories:⁶⁷ those of a purely classical style, which he himself submitted after having canceled his cooperation with Terribilia; those which bear witness to his temporary thrall to what he must have abhorred; and finally the purely "Gothic" ones, none of which, needless to say, stems from Palladio's hand. Of these only the third concerns us here, for the first falls into the history of the legitimate Renaissance, and the second—one project only, undertaken jointly with Terribilia—is no more than one of Palladio's designs adulterated by studding its base storey with an incongruous welter of Varignara's projections and canopies.⁶⁸ It is the "Gothic" designs by Domenico Tibaldi and Terribilia which interest us here, because of the nature of our theme, and also because they showed a remarkable ability to survive under the competitive conditions prevailing at San Petronio. They had been submitted before Palladio was called. They were still on the table when his projects had long been abandoned; and Terribilia's was given the additional honor of being made the building fabric's final choice on

61. I do not agree with Professor Frankl, who derives this design from Gothic furniture. It would be difficult to find a piece of furniture showing interlace similar to Vignola's.

62. A. Venturi, *Storia del arte italiana*, VIII, part 1, figs. 125-130.

63. The design for the façade by the incompetent J. Ranzuoli offers the only exception.

64. G. Gaye, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 316. 65. *ibid.*, p. 395.

66. *ibid.*, p. 446. This is the point of view which was to be hotly defended a few years later by Carlo Carazzi, the tailor of Bologna.

67. This triple division was first introduced by Pellegrino Pellegrini in the memorandum mentioned above. For comments about it see E. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

68. R. Pane, *op.cit.*, fig. 219.

which it staked its ability to erect the façade of San Petronio. Neither was worthy of such success, for besides suffering from the artistic anemia that beset the entire generation preceding the baroque, they both were affected by the designer's surrender to the reactionary demands of the building fabric. Both artists had been asked, apparently, to restudy Varignara's façade. But instead of trying to understand what the older architect had had in mind when he proposed his rusticated design, they deprived it of what little charm it had by trying to rectify its randomness and by transforming it into a rigid and strait-laced pattern of strictly corresponding elements. Terribilia (Fig. 11) committed the additional sin of discarding the low proportions which had been a concomitant of his forerunner's rusticated style, letting his façade soar, in an obvious effort to retain the best of both worlds, "Gothique ancien" and "Gothique moderne." He did not succeed; for, although he tried to lighten windows, gables, and other accessory parts, the presence of heavy projections throughout contradicts their upward tendency.

Of the two projects Tibaldi's is by far the worse, a monument to the helplessness of a very inferior mind before an uncongenial task. Nowhere else are the *bugne* as much in evidence as they are here, where they have been broadened to bring them in line with the distribution of reliefs on Giulio Romano's façade. Tibaldi was so eager to install his rustications in all parts of the façade, including gables and the places where there should have been piers and buttresses, that he overlooked the top-heaviness of a design that made no distinction between architecturally active and inert parts. His indifference did not prevent him, on the other hand, from making his finials more delicate than those projected by any of his colleagues except perhaps Peruzzi. Nor did he stop at abuses such as these, showing no more discrimination when choosing models from quarters other than the archives of San Petronio. He introduced into one single church façade the curvilinear forms from Trecento retables⁶⁹ and complex interlaces from decorative plaques of the eighth to twelfth centuries;⁷⁰ the former into the central gable and the gables over Ariguzzi's three oculi, the latter—circles with knots inscribed or extending beyond their circumference—into many of his rectangles, where they alternate with reliefs in the contemporary style. It illustrates the utter perplexity with which he confronted his task that, like the artists of the Romanesque period, he took his models wherever they could be found, oblivious of stylistic differences. While contemporary notions of Gothic encouraged this eclectic approach, they could not excuse his inability to find a common denominator in elements culled from various artistic contexts or his faulty use in architecture of decorative forms borrowed from the minor arts. It is equally impossible to justify the unthinking juxtaposition of rustications, ornaments in the high mediaeval vein, and Mannerist narrative reliefs.

Compared with this sad exhibition of artistic bewilderment Terribilia's project (Fig. 11) strikes one as a return to sounder architectural principles, although even here the creative faculty is at a very low ebb. His design is visibly composed of the ideas of other men. He adopted Varignara's *bugne*, his divisions of the pilasters into rectangles, and his placement of an arched window between oculi. But the gables over the entrances he drew as Peruzzi had, and he topped the whole with a central triangle, whose interlaced ornament and piercing pinnacles betray their origin in Vignola's design. The only feature that he did not derive from various projects for San Petronio is the pair of ornamental reliefs under the central triangle, whose ancestors, direct or indirect, are in the choir gates of San Miniato in Florence⁷¹ or in the Loggia del Bigallo⁷² in the same town.

The doggedness with which he stuck to a selection from local precedent, almost to the exclusion of other elements, suggests that Terribilia attempted or had been commissioned to super-

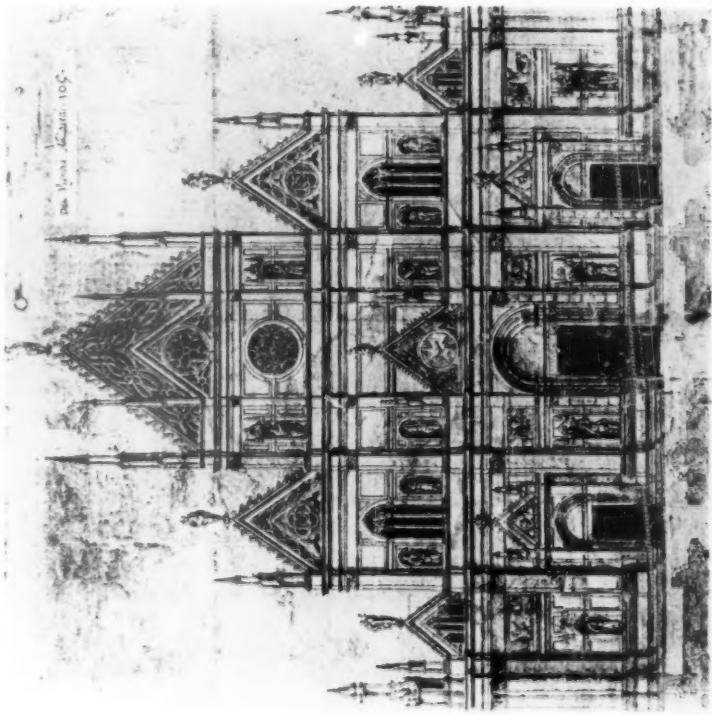
69. I owe this observation to Professor Frankl.

70. It is likely that the starting point of Tibaldi's excursion into high mediaeval ornament was the interlace in Vignola's central gable, an interesting possibility which seems to show that a Renaissance initial or its monumental equivalent was

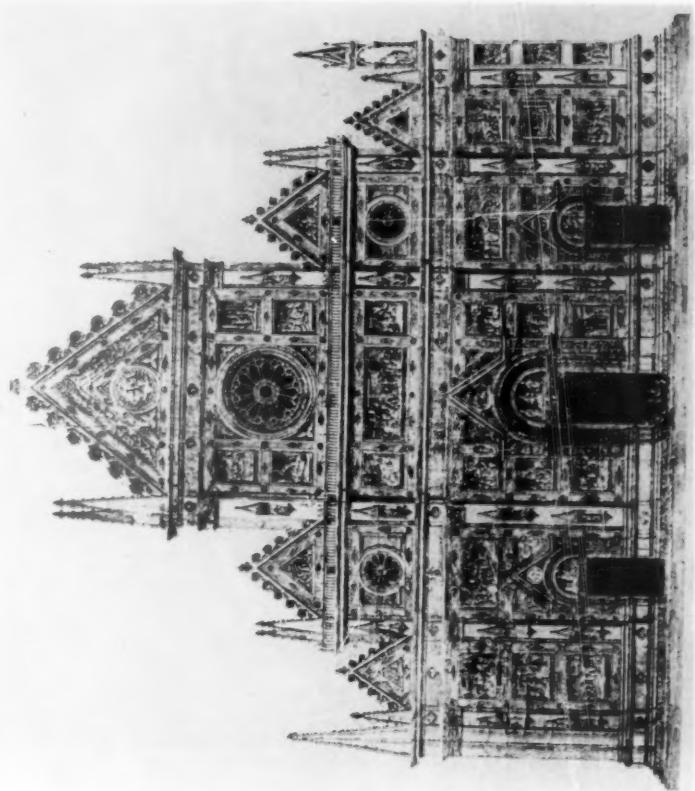
capable of bringing related mediaeval ornaments to mind. Interlaces of the kind designed by Tibaldi are frequent in mediaeval Italy since the Lombard period.

71. Salmi, *op.cit.*, pls. 219-220.

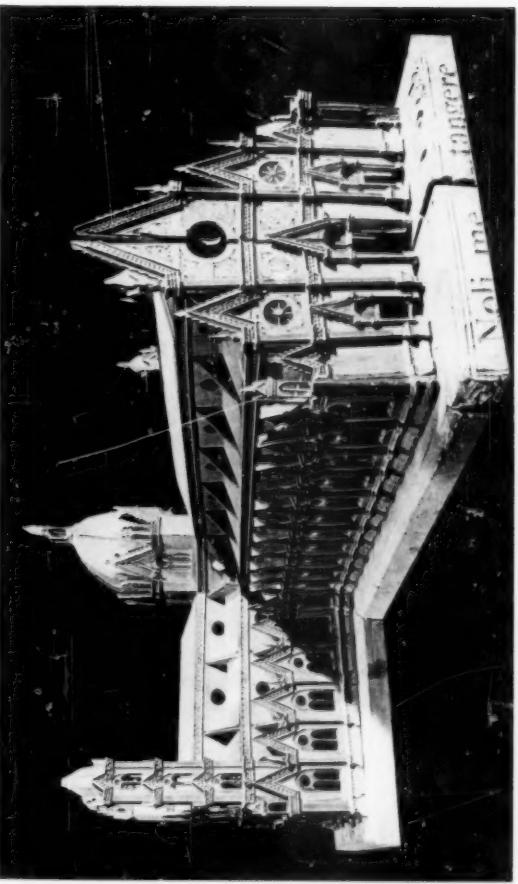
72. P. Toesca, *op.cit.*, fig. 23.



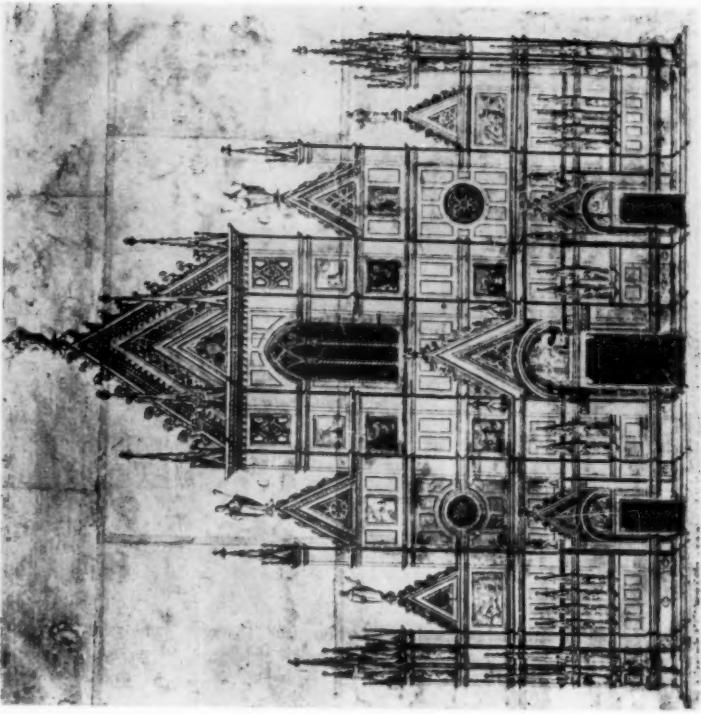
8. Vignola, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1546 or 1547



9. Giulio Romano, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1545



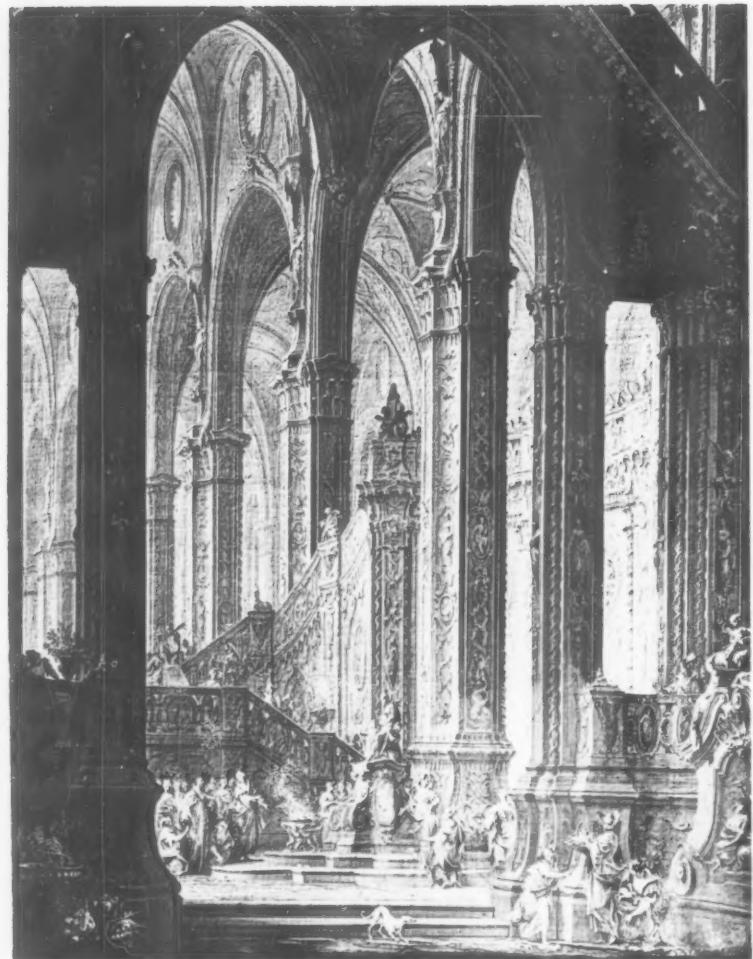
10. Arduino Ariguzzi, Model for San Petronio in Bologna. Early XVI century



11. Francesco Terrilibia, Project for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna, 1580



12. Gioacchino Pizzoli, Painted decoration for the tenth chapel to the right in San Petronio in Bologna. About 1725



13. Vittorio Bigari, *Temple of Venus*. Middle of the XVIII century



14. Leonardo da Vinci, Decoration in the Sala delle Asse. Milan, Castel Sforzesco

sede all previous "Gothic" projects by exploring what was meritorious in each, an intentional fusion or compromise on the basis of material available in the archives of San Petronio which is different in kind from the free and sometimes far-ranging selection of prototypes practiced by previous architects. What we see here, is a deliberate attempt at synthesis, undertaken in order to put an end to previous hesitations and uncertainties. Such an attempt presupposes a new readiness to bury existing differences, and to work for a solution acceptable to all. And indeed; as we survey the documents pertaining to the period after Palladio's defeat, we discover that this last debacle had taught those responsible for the architecture of San Petronio to come to terms. At a decisive session of the building fabric both Terribilia and Tibaldi were present. But instead of the deadlock that would have been likely at any time before, the two colleagues now agreed to amalgamate their designs from the most commendable features of each. The procedure seemed entirely feasible, for, so we read with some astonishment, "both designs" were supposed to "possess so much uniformity that it is difficult to determine which would serve best." Given such amicable readiness to iron out differences, there was no reason why one should not enjoy the advantages of both designs; and it was thus ruled "after mature consideration of several projects for San Petronio" that some of the narrative reliefs originally planned for Tibaldi's façade were to be transferred into Terribilia's,⁷³ in addition to its receiving a mullioned window instead of the original oculus. A comparison with Varignara's drawing shows that both decisions were taken in order to bring the appearance of the winning design into closer accord with its prototype from the early sixteenth century.

Thus where all inventive artists had failed because they could not win consistent backing from a committee too irresolute to commit itself, a man who was the inferior of most threatened to secure the prize, because he knew how to flatter the prevailing readiness for compromise. After many decades of vacillation the *fabbricieri* had come to surrender to a council of despair. They had learned that where no agreement can be reached on the basis of established values, the only path of action that remains is the safe middle course, which shuns all embarrassing absolutes in the service of a none too golden mean. In succumbing to this attitude they followed a path that has since been taken by innumerable other committees trying to avoid or resolve a deadlock by preferring the Terribilias to the Giulio Romanos and Palladios. If the governing body of the fabric of San Petronio has any distinctive place in the history of human fumbling, it lies in the fact that it provided an early instance of the application of the rule of mediocrity to art.

One is almost glad to remind the reader that the peace of complaisance which threatened to settle over the building fabric of San Petronio was to be rudely shattered a few years later by the arrival of a fanatical interloper, the tailor of Bologna, who, having been no party to the compromise, felt free to stir quiescent minds by once more bringing absolute values into play.⁷⁴ The quarrel which he started over the height of the vault put an end to any current hope that the façade would ever be achieved.

73. L. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 74. "M. Bartolomeo Triachino, M. Giov. Ballarino, M. Domenico Tibaldi e M. Francesco Terribilia dopo haver havuta considerazione matura sopra diversi disegni della fabbrica di San Petronio conformatandosi con la mente dell' Ill.mo R^{to} che si lascia in esser la facciata fatta senza moverla in alcuna parte, eccetto che se ne rimuovano alcune bugne et si riempino quei vani d'historie o altri ornamenti come di sotto si dirà; e perch'i disegni del Tebaldo e Terribilia hanno molto uniformità à talche difficilmente si potria pigliar risoluzione de quali delli due tornasse meglio servirsi, hanno al fine risoluto, che con diverse parti del di-

segno di Tibaldi si accomodi quello del Terribilia e poi quello si senga, e prima le due bugne che sono nel quarto ordine si conclude che si debbono ridurre in due historie accompagnate con l'altre che sono nel frontispicio delle capelle et le due finestre che sono sopra le porte piccole si debbono ridurre in due ochi. . ." The existing design by Terribilia contains these alterations.

74. I shall deal elsewhere with the quarrel between Terribilia and the tailor, since the issues at stake were different from those here discussed.

V

It would be tempting to terminate our account at this point and to dispense with the history of the very few projects of later date, were it not that this seemingly ineffectual aftermath was essential in bridging the gap between the survival and the revival of Gothic in Bologna. Our interest in the transition prevents us from omitting these stragglers.

The first is a project by Girolamo Rainaldi (Fig. 7), submitted in 1626, when he had just begun to negotiate with the building fabric over the prospective height of the vaults. It shows that, when given full rein instead of having to conform with the exigencies of the past, Rainaldi was far from recommending those purely Gothic forms which he mastered so well in the interior. His design is meant to impress by the cumulative effect of great numbers of members, classical and Gothic, which crowd each other and culminate through the conglomeration of smaller and smaller parts in the upper areas. A project such as this called for a multiplication of Gothic elements; and indeed we find that where other architects had been content with presenting either mullioned windows or oculi, Rainaldi felt obliged to show both, one above the other, while he complemented his strangely shaped finials by placing "Gothic" pyramids of equally bizarre forms over the inner side aisles. The result of this redundancy of parts and of their uneven distribution over the façade is, as in Cristoforo Solari's and Giulio Romano's design, a strongly picturesque effect, only that it is now attained without disturbing the law of symmetry, merely by the mutual jostling of forms within a confining area. In this picturesque *ensemble* the Gothic windows stand out by virtue of the fact that they constitute the largest unbroken expanse in the upper part of the façade, and thus dominate the surrounding array of small niches, gables, and pilasters.

It is interesting to note that even at this late date the cathedral of Florence proved its inveterate fascination: although Rainaldi operated with more unequal and more salient forms, the cramped conditions to which they were made to conform originated in the late Mannerist designs for the Florentine façade.⁷⁵ Telltale details confirm this, among them the presence in Rainaldi's project of small oculi in the attic between the base and the second storey, that is, in the same place where Buontalenti also had inserted his, when designing his Florentine model of 1587 (Fig. 6). Their presence is in both instances a distant allusion to the corresponding feature in the ancient obsolete design by Arnolfo di Cambio. Both artists broke the architectural continuity by the device of placing an arch immediately over the round opening, a niche in Buontalenti's case, in Rainaldi's a Gothic window; and both lifted the base line of the adjoining niche over the level established by the neighboring arch. In either case there is a second similar recess in the storey above.

While Rainaldi thus asserted the traditional adherence to Florentine precedent, he did not fail to pay his compliment to local luminaries, for the relation which he established between the central window and the oculi on the sides is the same as in Varignara's and Terribilia's façades. Even Venice came in once more for its artistic share: the crocketed pyramids over the side aisles and terminal buttresses are simplified versions of the forms appearing on the side of the church of San Marco that looks toward the Ducal Palace.

Whatever its sources, Rainaldi's design is the last contribution to the architecture and embellishment of San Petronio that was to be executed by a professional architect. Its position in the history of posthumous Gothic is both prophetic and ambiguous, for it is essentially a theatrical design, meant to intensify a visual effect by exotic means. What we have called its picturesque character, is an

75. V. Daddi Giovanzozi, "I Modelli dei Secoli XVI e XVII per la Facciata di S. Maria del Fiore," *L'Arte*, 1936. The three oculi reappear in the projects which Giovanzozi (fig. 4) and A. Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, XI, part 2, figs. 589 and 590) attribute to L. Cigoli as well in the

projects of 1636 (later than Rainaldi's for San Petronio) by the *Accademia del Disegno* and by G. Silvani (Giovanzozi, figs. 8 and 9). In several of these projects the outer oculi are placed directly under a niche, as previously in Buontalenti (Giovanzozi, figs. 4 and 8).

attempt to coerce the spectator by an impressive concentration of heterogeneous elements, very much as was done by the scenic virtuosi of the eighteenth century.

No wonder, then, given such local precedent, that a few decades later Gothic was to be taken out of the hands of the architects who had nursed it for so long and claimed by the theatrical designers as an operatic tool. When this occurred, the Gothic survival came to an end, and a revival movement arose in its place. The new men, architects in their off hours only, were interested mainly in new and startling effects. They felt free, therefore, to employ the style of the past for their own ends, even if doing so involved interpreting it in various ways not sanctioned by tradition or by existing monuments. They had managed to tear themselves at length from a continuity that had constrained their colleagues in the past, and to end the subservience to architectural procedures inherited from mediaeval times. Thus they were enabled to return spontaneously to what to their predecessors had been a burden, unwillingly borne, for the new medium had set them free. Like the English architects of the eighteenth century who changed from churches and college buildings to Gothic ruins in garden scenery, they were now at liberty to construe and misconstrue, according to their own image, emotional or sentimental, the forms of mediaeval art.

So strong, however, was the appeal of San Petronio, that even now, when the Gothic specialists were all working in the operatic field, the building held its own as a minor focus reflecting the light engendered in the theatrical centers. We have learned early in this study that one of the new men, Gioacchino Pizzoli, decorated the tenth chapel to the left with frescoes in the mediaeval style (Fig. 12). What he produced bears a remarkably close relation to the local past, for he crowned Vignola's and Peruzzi's triple Corinthian pilasters with a classical entablature, painted a Gothic arch beneath and another one, with an inscribed sixfoil, above, and then proceeded to resolve this hybrid structure by putting on top of the terminal "Gothic" apse an airy baroque vault.

Other artists not called to add to the heritage of San Petronio expressed their interest in the great church by availing themselves of its mediaeval forms as material for their own architectural fantasies. Two such pictorial variations come to mind: one a theatrical drawing in Munich,⁷⁶ by a follower of Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena, who supported an over-all rococo hall on Gothic piers, playful variants of the compound pillars of San Petronio; the other the well-known picture by Vittorio Bigari (1692-1776), in the Academy in Bologna (Fig. 13),⁷⁷ who went to such elaborate lengths of frivolity that he reduced the greatest Christian sanctuary in his town to the status of a background for a pagan sacrifice. But although the persons represented are assembled for an offering to Venus, amidst an array of baroque ramps and staircases, the building in which they perform their cult is an unmistakable variation upon the interior of San Petronio. High above the figures tower the characteristic compound piers with their elongated Corinthian capitals, and above them and the connecting pointed arches the cusped oculi of the clearstory. Only the Gothic statues under canopies, which repose above the capitals, have no precedent in the interior of San Petronio, for their ancestors stand on Varignara's portion of the front.⁷⁸

It is perhaps not unfitting that this picture should terminate our survey: it betokens the end of an age. Unless there were to be renewal of spirit, it was not likely that there would be an effective and satisfactory continuation of the labors for San Petronio. The drawing for the façade which Mauro Tesi submitted in 1748 to the local academy, only confirms the view that by this time the Bolognese tradition of Gothic architecture was dead. His design bears little resemblance to the projects of the past, much less to genuine mediaeval art, its affinities being rather with neo-Gothic in England.⁷⁹ If anything can be said on its behalf, it is that its creator was a very young

76. *Graphische Sammlung*, Inv. number 19205.

77. The attribution has not been uncontested. Zucchini believes that only the figures are by Bigari, while the architecture is by the *quadratura* painter Stefano Orlandi (1681-1760).

78. "Gothic" figures of this kind, sometimes under similar canopies, appear in Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena's designs and in prints after them by Buffagnotti.

79. I cannot determine here whether there are any actual connections with the Gothic revival in England, with which

man when he delivered himself of it, and uncertain of his aims. He seems to have renounced the production of "Gothic" designs once his work as an operatic designer had established him as an early protagonist of the neoclassic creed.⁸⁰

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the drawing shares the brittleness of its paper-thin forms and the dominance of neoclassical thinking in a design supposedly mediaeval. The strange lozenge-shaped windows in the center and in the inner side aisles are rectilinear variants upon the oval windows frequent in Italian baroque architecture.

80. Mauro Tesi, an interesting and gifted artist, became the protégé of Count Algarotti and as such was obliged to adhere to the latter's neoclassical creed. Of his designs which

I have seen in the original or in reproduction, none is done in the "Gothic" manner. (In the collection of Professor Certani in Bologna, of L. Olschki in Florence (V. Mariani, *Storia della scenografia italiana*, Florence, 1930, pl. LXXX), in the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome (C. Ricci, *La scenografia italiana*, Milan, 1930, pl. LXXVII) and in the collection of D. Önslager in New York.

COMMERCIAL PALACES OF NEW YORK: 1845-1875

WINSTON WEISMAN

On Thursday September 10, 1846, Philip Hone, former mayor of New York City, noted in his diary that "Mr. (A.T.) Stewart's splendid edifice . . . in Broadway, between Chambers and Reade Street, is nearly finished, and his stock of drygoods will be exhibited on the shelves in a few days. There is nothing in Paris or London to compare with this drygoods palace."¹

In the years that followed, so many other palatial business buildings rose from the sidewalks of New York that Charles Mackay, an English lecturer and one-time editor of the *Illustrated London News*, could write of a trip taken to the city in 1857: "Broadway offers one grand procession of commercial palaces. . . . Brown stone edifices rank next in size and number to the marble palaces; and a few of cast iron, with elegant Corinthian pillars, add to the variety of architecture. . . ."²

By 1860 the vogue for aristocratic commercial structures showed no sign of abating. On October 6, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* said in connection with the opening of the Ball, Black Store at the corner of Broadway and Prince Street: "The rage for building superb business palaces has been growing from year to year. Those who in the past were content with ordinary three story brick fronts have become imbued with the spirit of the time, and adopting extravagant notions which seem to have sprung from the unlimited influx of California gold . . . have built acres of brick with gorgeous marble and stone fronts and converted New York into a city of palaces."³

The Civil War slowed the "rage" somewhat, but by 1868 it was well under way again, making possible John Kennion's prediction ". . . in a very few years the city of New York will be one palatial mass, infinitely excelling the Roman or Greek architecture, or the wonderful engineering of London or of Paris."⁴

When eventually the long depression of 1873-1879 set in there were signs that the movement had spent itself. By 1875 it was apparent that a new architectural form had evolved from the older one. When building resumed after 1880, the largest business projects were no longer palaces. They were skyscrapers. In view of the important role the palace mode and period played in the history of American architecture, this little-known chapter deserves attention. What follows is an attempt to explain its arrival, to analyze its character, and to trace its evolution in the city of New York where its fullest development took place.⁵

For its beginnings we turn to the Stewart Store and Philip Hone (Fig. 1). He tells us in an entry dated April 7, 1845, that "The site of Washington Hall . . . was lately sold by the heirs of Mr. John G. Coster to A. T. Stewart, who is preparing to erect on the ground a drygoods store, spacious and magnificent beyond anything of the kind in the New World, or the Old either, as far as I know. . . ."⁶

Even before its completion, probably in the latter part of 1846, this "drygoods palace" began to excite the interest of New Yorkers, as witness Hone's entry of September 10 already quoted. By the time it was finished it was one of the most prominent works of architecture in the city and,

1. Allan Nevins, *The Diary of Philip Hone*, New York, 1936, II, p. 772.

2. Charles Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, London, 1859, pp. 17-18.

3. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 6, 1860, p. 313.

4. John W. Kennion, *The Architects' and Builders' Guide*, New York, 1868, p. xv.

5. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance given him by Miss Grace Mayer, Curator of Prints at the Museum of the City of New York and Mr. Arthur B. Carlson, Curator of Maps and Prints at The New-York Historical Society. He also wishes to express his thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies whose grant made possible the assemblage of material for this article.

6. Nevins, *op.cit.*, II, p. 729.

to judge by comment in the press, remained so for years to come. A few examples are worth mentioning because they reveal the character of the reaction. In the Spring of 1849 the *Evening Post* called the attention of its readers to "the looming front of a marble palace, five stories high, decorated in the most beautiful style of art . . . in front of which . . . an incessant current of carriages may be seen approaching and leaving and as upon Jacob's ladder an unbroken file of angels, ascending and descending its marble steps."⁷

In 1853 *Putnam's Monthly* magazine ran a series of articles surveying the architecture of the town. The February issue, comparing the shops of New York with those of London and Paris, said: "In some cases like that of Howell and James, the Stewart's of London, the shop is merely three ordinary dwelling houses given up to the sale of goods and having no architectural pretensions whatever. . . . There is no warehouse in London, nor in any other European city approaching some of the large and splendid establishments in Broadway, nor is there any shop in the world to rival the palatial magnificence of that on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street."⁸ In the July 1854 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* Stewart's again is referred to in picturesque terms and compared favorably with the palaces of Italy.⁹ In subsequent years the store is praised by a number of notable writers, including Charles Mackay and Henry James.¹⁰

Thus it would appear that this structure made a decided impression on many who saw it and that it was considered elegant and palatial by those who held themselves to be judges of art. The question naturally arises: how did this kind of architecture come into being and who introduced it to these shores. The answer to the first part of the question appears to be that the palace mode as represented by Stewart's symbolized a reaction in taste on the part of a wealthy and elite social class against the staid austerity of the earlier Republican period. This structure mirrored the rise of a mercantile royalty who no longer were satisfied with shingles and homespun, but who yearned instead for the trappings of nobility. The palace movement was a reflection of the taste of this "calico aristocracy" as *Putnam's* called the group. The commercial palace, in other words, was the architectural symbol of the merchant prince.

For a glimpse into the character of this mercantile society, one has but to look at a contemporary newspaper editorial: "We now are on the eve of the most transcendently brilliant era of fashion and amusement that this metropolis has ever witnessed. . . . The memories of all past seasons will fade away, lose their lustre and be utterly obliterated in the splendour of the coming one. Fashion is about to forsake her ancient places in the passé capitals of Europe and establish her abode in this city of the Knickerbockers. . . ."¹¹

To this might be added the remarks of Reuben Vose: "The expense at which our richest men live would astonish any person not familiar with our highest circles. . . . We rejoice that such display exists. . . . Many who in the past times were the aristocracy, are now in this age of gold superseded by the new aspirants of vastly greater wealth. The splendour of their mansions, perhaps we should call them palaces, and the costs of our parties cannot be surpassed in the most polished circles of England or France."¹²

Considering the lavishness displayed by the wealthy New Yorkers during this period and their aristocratic ambitions, it is not difficult to understand why they were dissatisfied not only with the wooden rookeries and plain brick buildings that lined Broadway prior to and even after 1845, but also why they frowned as well upon the dignified granite Greek structures that filled

7. Anonymous, *History of Architecture and the Building Trades of Greater New York*, New York, 1899, I, p. 139.

8. Anonymous, "New York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's Monthly*, I, 1853, p. 129.

9. Anonymous, "Easy Chair Chats," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, IX, pp. 260-261.

10. Mackay, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-18. Henry James, *A Small Boy*

and Others, New York, 1913, pp. 65-66.

11. Wayne Andrews (*The Vanderbilt Legend*, New York, 1941, p. 39) quotes the *New York Herald* for March 10, 1853.

12. Reuben Vose, *Wealth of the World*, New York, 1859, pp. 38-39.

Wall Street. *Putnam's*, reflecting the taste of the New York elite in 1853 said of the temples on Wall Street: "Doubtless in their day these tough granite dowagers bloomed with grace in the eyes of the young men who now look down regretfully upon their beards, gray as the structures they once admired. Yet to our eyes these grim temples are matters only for lamentation . . . in architecture as in history Greece has fallen victim to Italy, and while millionaires are busy with their brown stone and marble palaces, these forsaken specimens of the pseudo-Greek remain with their bulky and ungraceful leg-like columns out of place and out of proportion. . . ."¹³

This revolt against the Greek already was in evidence a decade prior to 1853. Vincent Scully has pointed out that A. J. Downing was unsympathetic and could be counted in the anti-Greek camp.¹⁴ Carroll Meeks has shown that others like Henry Austin and Richard Upjohn were turning their interest to the Italian Villa manner and the Romanesque in the early 1840's.¹⁵

But perhaps the strongest and most frontal assault was launched in 1844. In April of that year an anonymous writer, who since has been identified as Arthur Gilman, a young and brilliant Boston architect, wrote an article for the *North American Review* occasioned by the publication in 1843 of Edward Shaw's *Rural Architecture: consisting of Classic Dwellings, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Gothic and details connected with each of the Orders embracing Plans, Elevations & Designs for the United States of America*.¹⁶ In his review, Gilman took the opportunity not only to condemn such books as Shaw's, but also to denounce the Greek Revival. After severely criticizing Ammi Young's Boston Custom House and a number of other notable structures, he said: "We are firm in the belief that the introduction of Grecian architecture among us has been a great mistake. Its edifices belong to another climate; they are the legitimate offspring of a remote age, an antagonistic religion, an obsolete form of government, and a widely different state of society than our own."

Having done away with the Greek, our writer felt obliged to suggest another form of architecture. His choice fell upon "the style of Bramante, of Palladio, and Michael Angelo." This manner, Gilman reported, was sometimes termed the "palazzo style," and he expressed the opinion that the "Palazzi Riccardi, Pandolfini, Strozzi and Gondi at Florence, the renowned Farnese, the splendid Massimi at Rome, and the Piccolomini at Siena, display a true greatness of manner."

He went on to say, "In England, two very striking examples have been erected within a few years by Mr. Charles Barry. . . . The Traveller's Club House [1829-1831], first, and the Reform Club House [1836-1840], built soon afterwards, have given very happy evidence of his peculiar and versatile talent. The eminent appropriateness, and the picturesque and striking beauty of the manner which he had chosen, have, beyond question, greatly conduced to form a growing taste for the *palazzo* style among the architects of the great metropolis [of London]. . . ." Gilman then ventured that it would be fine indeed if American architects would follow in Barry's footsteps; but as to this he was quite pessimistic because, as he put it "the Grecian temple presses too heavily on the imagination of our professional men, to be thrown off so easily."

Actually, as things turned out, Gilman misjudged his colleagues and the temper of his time. Only one year later Stewart began his palace on Chambers Street. At precisely the same time, as

13. *Putnam's*, *op.cit.*, p. 132.

14. Vincent Scully, "Romantic Rationalism and the Expression of Structure in Wood," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, p. 123.

15. Carroll L. V. Meeks, "Henry Austin and the Italian Villa," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, pp. 145-149; and "Romanesque Before Richardson in the United States," *ibid.*, XXXV, 1953, pp. 17-33.

16. Anonymous, "Architecture in the United States," *North American Review*, LVIII, 1844, pp. 436-480. Though the au-

thor of the article in the *North American Review* is not given, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1887, II, p. 654) says that in 1844 Arthur Gilman published a paper on American architecture in that publication. Gilman, who was to come to New York in 1865 and design the important Equitable Life Insurance Building in 1868, was at that time a promising architect of twenty-three. He delivered a series of twelve lectures before the Lowell Institute and then went on a tour of Europe. After his return he was engaged in the erection of the Boston City Hall.

Robert Smith has shown, John Notman was erecting another in the Philadelphia Athenaeum.¹⁷ Within six years of the *North American Review* article, the *palazzo* mode was the overwhelmingly popular style in commercial architecture and remained so for the next twenty-five years.

This brings us to the second part of the question asked earlier: who introduced the palace movement to this country. The answer, at the moment, cannot be conclusive. Gilman, as a critic, certainly played a leading role. Notman's Athenaeum was influential, it would seem. One can only speculate about the importance of A. T. Stewart himself, and Ottavian Gori, the Italian marble cutter who has been credited with the design of the Stewart Store.¹⁸ Even more difficult to evaluate at this time is the contribution of English-trained architects like Thomas Thomas, who with his son Griffith developed one of the most successful practices in the country.¹⁹ Until more is known about the activities of such men, it will be impossible to arrive at a more definite answer to our question.

However, there can be no doubt whatever that Stewart's and the excellent impression it created did much to launch the new vogue in New York. *Harper's* editorial on street architecture for July 1854 tells us specifically what role the drygoods palace played. It says: "A few years ago when a man returned from Europe, his eye full of the lofty buildings of the Continent, our cities seemed insignificant and mean. . . . He felt that the city had no character, but he could not see what was wanting. But the moment Stewart's fine building was erected, the difficulty appeared. . . . [It] was a key-note, a model. There had been other high buildings, but none so stately and simple. And even now there is, in its way no finer street effect than the view of Stewart's building seen on a clear blue brilliant day, from a point low in Broadway. . . . It rises out of the sea of green foliage in the Park, a white marble cliff, sharply drawn against the sky."²⁰ This is confirmed by glancing through the Jones, Neuman & Ewbank *Pictorial Directory of New York* published in 1848. Stewart's is easily the most distinguished structure on what was then the finest street in the city. In view of this, it seems clear that this edifice not only helped launch the *palazzo* mode in New York but also created architectural repercussions up and down the Atlantic seaboard.

As might be expected, the first steps taken in the palace movement were cautious. While the

17. Robert C. Smith, *John Notman and the Athenaeum Building*, Philadelphia, 1951, pp. 15-17.

18. Stewart was an imaginative and daring businessman of Scotch-Irish descent whose decision to erect a marble palace was to become an important milestone in the annals of business history as well as in a long and successful career. He was well-traveled and much interested in architecture as later events were to prove. He was an ardent advocate of cast-iron construction and was responsible for several large buildings being built in that material. He was the client of John Kellum and was responsible in no small measure for the architect's success. In view of his capacities and interests, it is not difficult to imagine Stewart as an important factor in the scheme for his new store, a project which must have been of great personal concern. It is even possible that Stewart might have discussed the matter of his project with English architects. Gori's role in the project is still open to question. The anonymously written *History of Architecture and the Building Trades of Greater New York* (New York, 1899, I, p. 146) says: "Ottavian Gori, a marble cutter of great skill prepared what he claimed to be his own designs for Mr. Stewart's lower store—an unusually good example of Italian Renaissance." The store is also attributed to Gori by A. J. Bloor in an annual address to the AIA in *Proceedings*, 1876, p. 18. (I am indebted to Mrs. Ellen Kramer for this reference.) The lack of stronger evidence tempts one to leave open the matter of attribution. The fact that Stewart's is not attributed to anyone else, so far as the writer knows, is in Gori's favor. But the added fact that he was a marble cutter and not an architect and that he is not credited with the design of any other structure in New York during those busy times militates against him. One would im-

agine that Stewart would have selected a well-known architect to design such a large and imposing structure.

19. A letter in the Art Room of the New York Public Library written by a Mr. A. Harvey dated as received on November 5, 1938, tells us that Thomas Thomas was a native of the Isle of Wight who studied in England with a Nicholson who is not further identified. (Could this be Peter Nicholson?) John Kouwenhoven in his *The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York* (New York, 1953, p. 171) says Thomas Thomas erected the New Centre Market in 1838-1839 and along with A. J. Davis, Thomas U. Walter, and Isaiah Rogers established in 1836 the American Institution of Architects, precursor of the AIA. The elder Thomas was active until 1860 when his son Griffith became nominal head of the firm. According to Harvey, Griffith came to New York in 1838 at the age of eighteen. He was a good draughtsman and Harvey says that on the wall of his office hung a perspective view of the interior of the Pantheon at Rome which was a practice piece; but done *con amore*. Harvey says that Griffith learned from his father the "tradition of the office in regarding the classic and Italian modifications as the style best suited for city buildings." By the 1860's the firm of Thomas & Son had become one of the busiest in the country. A partial list assembled by the author totals 59 buildings all of them major projects for banks, insurance companies, etc. Between 1868 and 1873 alone, the firm was responsible for 33 large office buildings, warehouses, and banks estimated at over \$7,000,000, a sizeable amount of work in those days for a brief five year period. A sampling of the work of Thomas & Son is to be seen in what follows.

20. *Harper's*, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

Stewart Store façade followed the path taken by Barry in his interpretation of the Italian *palazzo*, the interior also made use of the dome which had seen service, so paradoxically, in the Greek Revival. The dome was the crowning feature of the plan, being 80 feet high and 70 feet in circumference. Its lantern lighted a great hall, 100 by 40 feet which was set in the center of the scheme. The walls and ceiling of this "splendid apartment" were "very elegantly and chastely decorated with paintings."²¹ At the east end of the rotunda, immense mirrors, 56 by 158 inches and imported from Paris, lined the walls making the room look twice its actual size.

The exterior was somewhat simpler. It was composed of white Westchester marble. The Broadway side was divided into five parts by quoining; the Chambers Street front into three. The ornamentation was restrained, being limited to flat and gable windows with balustrades at key points on the second floor. The ground story featured Corinthian piers separating compartments filled with large panes of plate glass which Hone thought a "useless piece of extravagance."²²

In 1850 Stewart's was enlarged substantially along Chambers and Reade Streets thereby more than doubling its former size. This development affords us an opportunity to study the relationship between the palace formula and commercial architecture and to note how well suited they were to each other. The fact is, as several critics including Gilman have pointed out, the Greek temple did not lend itself readily to business or street architecture. The plan was relatively inflexible. The columnar approach tended to screen out the light making for dark interiors. The prostyle porch was space consuming and therefore uneconomical. And lastly, the post and lintel system with its granite foundations and walls was extremely expensive.

One has only to read Putnam's critic on the subject of Isaiah Rogers' New York Merchants Exchange (1836-1842) to realize that there were practical objections to the Greek solution. These in the final analysis may have been more instrumental in bringing about a change than the demands of fashion. He wrote: ". . . [The] central hall which runs up to the top of the building and is crowned by a dome is surrounded by offices which in point of cheerfulness eclipse anything which the Egyptian catacombs have yet been able to offer us. We enter them whenever we have the occasion with gloomy apprehension that our friends will be found in a mournful state of mummy . . . the great pyramid of Gizeh is almost as well-lighted. . . . The basement story, compared to which the Catacombs of Paris are gay, has no means by which it can be warmed being without fire-places, furnace registers, or access to chimney flues."²³

In contrast to the many and serious disadvantages of the temple, the astylar palace afforded an easy means of designing well-lighted space at low cost. Moreover, it provided an easy way of enlarging a business building without damaging its appearance. Greek structures, like the Wall Street Custom House (Town & Davis, Ross and Frazee, 1834-1841) or the Phenix Bank (Martin Thompson, 1827) were self-contained units and could be expanded only with the greatest difficulty; and then never very successfully. Yet the need for such expansion was constant. In the case of the palace formula, however, it made little difference whether one was designing for one lot (25 feet) or three. Once the design unit was worked out, it could be repeated as needed. If in the next few years, more space was required, more units could be added. This is precisely what happened at Stewart's. When this compositional method was used in combination with iron construction, the result was a form of architecture that was practical, economical, and not inappropriate. So nicely did it serve both the commercial architect and his client that we may have here an explanation of why the Greek vogue died so swiftly once the palace was accepted, and why the new formula became so popular that it lived on long after its bloom had passed.

Despite the reputation that Stewart's won almost overnight, imitators were few. The Moffat Building at 335 Broadway erected by Thomas and Son in 1847-1848 reveals the reserve with

²¹ Putnam's, *op.cit.*, p. 358.

²² Nevins, *op.cit.*, p. 772.

²³ Putnam's, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

which some architects embraced the palace manner (Fig. 5).²⁴ This six-story structure was essentially a large rectangular brick box, not unlike the vast majority of commercial buildings in the first half of the nineteenth century. But in place of the simple stone sills and lintels, the architects introduced elaborate cast-iron frames for the windows, garnished with acanthus leaf decorations. This device gave the edifice the elegant appearance that was to become characteristic of the palace movement. However, it also recalled the Greek in the use of the acanthus motif. The fact that the decorated windows along Broadway reappear only in the first row on what is now Worth Street, while the others are left bare in the earlier fashion, indicates the transitional nature of this monument.

What is worth noting also about this structure is that iron was used in all subsidiary parts such as doors, windows, brackets, mouldings, panels, sashes and frames in order to make the buildings as fireproof as possible. The roof was wholly of iron and cement. There was no attempt, however, to use iron structurally, either in the form of columns, beams, or girders.²⁵ In this respect, the Moffat Building, along with the second Merchants Exchange which also made much use of iron, may be thought of as steppingstones to the works of Bogardus which were to materialize soon after.

Another early structure, famous in its day, was the Bowen & McNamee Silk Warehouse at 112-114 Broadway, executed by Joseph C. Wells in 1848-1849 (Fig. 6).²⁶ This store was singled out by the *Evening Post* for special mention. After noting that the warehouse was in the "Elizabethan style" the newspaper said, "For beauty and delicacy it was unsurpassed in this country." So aristocratic in appearance was the edifice and others like it that they could be mistaken for the palaces of princes, commented the *Post*.²⁷

In 1853 *Putnam's* also praised Bowen-McNamee's attributing its pleasing aspect to the heavy shadow pattern achieved by combining boldly projecting elements with deeply recessed windows, an effect which the magazine found to be "almost the only drawback to the enjoyment of the great marble palace of Stewart's." Significantly, the only fault with Joseph Wells' design was its "disproportionate height," which *Putnam's* authority felt might have been remedied by making the horizontal lines more prominent than the perpendicular.²⁸ Of this vertical tendency more will be said later.

What should be stressed here is that this structure was grouped with the palaces by critics of the time even though it was Elizabethan rather than Italian. It suggests that what made a building a palace was the richness of the architectural language and not its nationality. As we shall see, it seemed to matter little whether a building was done in the Italian, French, English, or German idiom; or whether the period was Ancient, Mediaeval or Renaissance. What counted was aristocratic appearance. If a structure had that, it was a palace. *Harper's* editor supports this conclusion. Frowning on Greek structures here and abroad, he says, "The style of street architecture should be rather rich than classical . . . there are many buildings in Broadway which are beautiful and effective because they are *bizarre* . . . [many] are well adorned and varied in a thousand ways. The palace windows of Tiffany & Company show the most cursory observer the new spirit of a new country. . . . The equal splendor of other edifices is not only the perpetual paean of a marvelous

24. The *New York Evening Post* for October 14, 1848, reports "Dr. Moffat has erected a building . . . on the northwest corner of Broadway and Anthony Street (now Worth) which for beauty of appearance, as well as usefulness, may truly be styled a model building." Thomas and Son is named as the architectural firm. David Valentine's *Manual of the Common Council of New York City* for 1856, p. 520, says the Moffat Building replaced the old Porter House which was torn down in six hours in 1847 and that "the new edifice (the Moffat Building) was commenced forthwith." A print in the Museum of the City of New York from which the illustration (Fig. 2) was made also supplies us with the information that the offices

not occupied by Moffat's patent medicine business could be rented by merchants, bankers, and lawyers at prices ranging from \$100 to \$1,000.

25. *Evening Post*, *op.cit.*

26. *History of Architecture and the Building Trades of Greater New York* (New York, 1899, I, p. 146) names Joseph C. Wells as architect quoting the *New York Evening Post* for the "Spring of 1849." Since it says the building was completed in that year, in all probability it was begun in the latter part of 1848.

27. *ibid.*, p. 138.

28. *Putnam's*, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

mercantile success, but the cheerful indication that the claims of the eye are gradually getting recognized and considered." (See Fig. 10.)²⁹

Though a number of sources were tapped by palace architects in the years that followed, the great majority from 1845 to the start of the Civil War were Italian Renaissance. In 1850-1851 John W. Ritch's Bowery Bank at 153 Bowery, the Metropolitan Hotel, by Trench and Snook, at the corner of Broadway and Prince Street, and the Chemical Bank, by Thomas and Son, at 270 Broadway were brownstone variations on the theme (Fig. 2).³⁰ As Henry-Russell Hitchcock has pointed out, this astylar version of the *palazzo* featured a distinct architectural vocabulary composed of pedimented or segmental arched windows, quoining, scroll brackets, projecting cornices, balustrades, Corinthian piers or columns and other elements, all used in a free and imaginative way.³¹

By 1851-1852 the Barry tradition seems to have been fairly well-established with some architects attempting to elaborate on what had gone before. The Mercantile Bank, on the corner of Broadway and John Street, by an architect as yet unidentified, thus surpassed the Moffat Building, in that now the entire two sides facing Broadway and John Street were ornamented.³² While the ground story was given greater prominence, the two fronts were composed more or less independently of each other.

In the brownstone Bank of the Republic at Broadway and Wall Street, however, the corner was rounded and made monumental by an arched doorway encompassed by a still more elaborate frame (Fig. 7).³³ This, in turn, was enriched by a broad staircase and the introduction of a rusticated ground story broken by coupled windows and a second entrance on the Broadway side. The upper stories between the street level and the attic were tied together by joining the triple windows with elongated piers which supported a shallow cornice. Quoining separated the corner section from those facing on Broadway and Wall Street. A cornice divided the fourth story from the fifth which was in the form of an attic. As a whole, this composition showed how complex design had become by 1852 and revealed a tendency towards greater elaboration and richer effects that was to characterize the maturing movement.

In 1852-1853 a number of large commercial edifices were erected reflecting the mounting prosperity of the time. Among the most prominent were the St. Nicholas Hotel, an enormous white marble structure capable of accommodating 800 guests, and considered one of the finest hotels in the world.³⁴ At the same time Thomas and Son completed the Broadway Bank at the

29. *Harper's, op.cit.*, p. 261.

30. The Bowery Bank was at 173 Bowery in 1849-1850 according to *Trow's New York City Directory* for 1850. In 1850-1851 the address is given as 153 Bowery indicating the structure was finished and occupied at that time. A colored lithograph in the New-York Historical Society names John W. Ritch as architect. *Illustrations of Iron Architecture* (New York, 1865, p. 28) names A. T. Stewart as proprietor and Trench and Snook as architects of the Metropolitan Hotel. I. N. Phelps Stokes (*The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, New York, 1918, III, p. 678) tells us that the hotel, which was begun in 1850 but not finished until 1852, was the largest and considered by many the most magnificent establishment of its kind in the world, built at a cost of \$940,000. The Chemical Bank was at 216 Broadway in 1849-1850 according to *Trow's New York City Directory* for 1850. In 1850-1851 it is listed at 270 Broadway. The inference is that the bank was built in 1850 and finished in 1851. Moses (*King's Handbook of New York City*, Boston, 1893, p. 714) says the bank moved into 270 in 1850. However, in the anonymously written *History of the Chemical Bank* (New York, 1913, p. 42) the bank is illustrated and dated 1851. *The History of Architecture . . . , op.cit.*, p. 138, attributes the structure to Thomas and Son.

31. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H.*

Richardson and His Times, New York, 1936, p. 9.

32. The *New York Herald* for May 24, 1851, says "the Mercantile Bank is about to build at the corner of Broadway and John Street." *Putnam's (op.cit., p. 134)* calls the bank new. A search has failed to turn up the name of the architect thus far.

33. The *Herald, op.cit.*, reports preparations in progress for the erection of a bank at the northeast corner of Broadway and Wall Street. *Trow's New York City Directory* lists the bank at Broadway and Wall Street in 1852-1853. *Putnam's (op.cit., p. 133)* calls the bank a handsome freestone structure but criticizes the upper story as appearing like an afterthought. The architect is unknown as yet; but it may have been Thomas and Son judging from the composition of the façade.

34. The *New York Daily Times* for January 7, 1853, reports the opening of the hotel. *Francis' Stranger's Handbook* (New York, 1853, p. 87) contains a detailed description of the structure, which has been attributed to both John B. Snook and Thomas and Son. *Kennion's Architects' and Builders' Guide*, p. 67, gives it to Griffith Thomas. This should be Thomas and Son as Thomas Thomas was nominally the head of the firm in 1853. *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 28, credits John B. Snook with a 470-foot store front for the St. Nicholas Hotel.

southwest corner of Broadway and Park Place (Fig. 8).³⁵ It was a five-story brownstone structure done in the Italian manner. Farther south on Broadway at Pine Street, Carl Pfeiffer finished the Metropolitan Bank which *Putnam's* critic thought "superb" (Fig. 9).³⁶ He noted that its façade displayed "a greater quantity of ornamental sculpture upon its two fronts than the whole of Broadway could have exhibited ten years ago."³⁷

His remarks about the Broadway Bank were less kind. While the highly decorated windows, the entrance porch, the rusticated basement and chamfered quoins pleased him, he remarked: "It is absurd to see so fine a building and one evidently erected at great expense (\$127,000) attempting to deceive the spectator with an elaborate cornice and pediment made of wood, and painted and sanded in imitation of stone, a stratagem which if it is discreditable in smaller buildings or temporary structures is miserably mean and petty in an erection like the one under consideration, which owing to its size and position is the most important bank yet put up in New York. We have no sympathy with the architect who will suggest or the capitalist who will adopt such a wretched expedient."³⁸

One building by Thomas and Son which won the unqualified admiration of our critic, however, was Taylor's Saloon built between 1852 and 1853 for 365-367 Broadway.³⁹ Of this structure, Alfred Pairpont, an English visitor to our shores between 1854-1855 said: "Among the many handsome and expensive stores in the Broadway, Taylor's Saloon carries off the palm from all the rest, by the splendour of its furniture and appointments which seem rather suited to a fairy palace than a sublunary cafe and restaurant. . . . The effect at night, when the establishment is lighted up, and hundreds of burners reflect their splendour on the white and gold, of which the walls are composed, is gorgeous in the extreme."⁴⁰

Equally well known was the store done by Thomas and Son in 1853 for Lord & Taylor at 255-261 Grand Street (Fig. 3).⁴¹ The ground story was composed of a series of large double plate-glass windows separated by slender cast iron piers. The upper stories were tied together by tall decorated arches encompassing two ranges of windows. To enhance the façade, the architects projected the central section and replaced the ornamental keystone with a more florid decoration to top the arch. The upper story contained heavy scroll brackets supporting a centrally placed pediment and balustrade that terminated the structure. The crowning feature was an iron dome which lighted the great rotunda of the interior.

In 1854 the trend continued with such edifices as the new headquarters for Tiffany & Company at 550 Broadway by R. G. Hatfield (Fig. 9).⁴² At the same time, however, a new note was struck in the treatment of the palace theme. It was exemplified by James Bogardus' Harper Brothers Building at Franklin Square and Pearl Street (Fig. 15).⁴³ This design did not stem from the Tuscan or Roman *palazzo*, but from the Venetian.⁴⁴ Moreover, the structural system used in this building was more advanced than that of any other business building in the city.

When Bogardus was called in with a view to doing a new plant for Harper Brothers, he was told that what was wanted was a sturdy, light-filled, fireproof, economic structure and also one that would symbolize aesthetically the prominence achieved by the firm in the publishing field.

35. Kennion (*op.cit.*, p. 67) names Griffith Thomas as architect. *Putnam's* (*op.cit.*, p. 134) discusses the structure and says former edifice on its site was demolished in 1852.

36. *Putnam's* (*op.cit.*, April 1853, p. 356) says "This superb building is but just finished."

37. *ibid.*, p. 356.

38. *ibid.*, p. 356.

39. *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 28, attributed this building to Thomas and Son. *Putnam's* (*op.cit.*, p. 363) says the structure is to be opened in May.

40. Alfred Pairpont, *Uncle Sam and His Country*, London, 1857, p. 30.

41. Attributed to Thomas and Son by *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 30. Date from files of Lord and Taylor.

42. Tiffany and Company says the firm moved into 550 Broadway in 1854. Attributed to Hatfield by *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 27.

43. The *New York Daily Graphic*, April 30, 1875, says the Harper Brothers Building was totally destroyed by fire in December 1853 and that the company "began immediately the erection of a totally fireproof building."

44. Henry-Russell Hitchcock informs the author that the Venetian variant is found in England as early as 1847 in the form of the Carleton Club by Sydney Smirke.

His solution, based on earlier experiments at his own factory on Centre and Duane Streets (1848-1849) and at the Lang Buildings at Washington and Murray Streets (1849) was an iron frame structure surrounded by brick walls at the sides and back. The front, however, was essentially a screen of glass held together by a web of cast iron columns, piers, and arches. This network was bolted to a supporting frame composed of wrought iron beams, girders, and cast iron Corinthian columns. The floor, made of segmental brick arches filled level with cement, was supported by this frame. By such a system Bogardus was able to satisfy the requirements for a heavy load-bearing structure that would be fireproof, well-lighted, and economical. To fulfill the final demand, Bogardus enriched the façade with ranges of Corinthian columns set on plinths and provided with a broken cornice which served as a platform for a similar arrangement above, but reduced in size. The pedestals on the second story were decorated further with sculptured plaques. But perhaps the most interesting feature was a row of cast iron sculptures set upon columns on the fifth story. Above each figure rose a heavy scroll bracket which supported an elaborately moulded cornice. The ensemble, which included a range of tall Corinthian columns at the street level was rich and aristocratic.⁴⁵

Several points should be emphasized in connection with the Bogardus building. First, cast iron construction was used because it made possible a sturdy structure without sacrificing a large amount of ground floor space which was usually the case in the post and lintel Greek Revival granite structures. This was made clear in a long article about the building and its operation published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for December 1865. Second, the Venetian rather than the Tuscan version of the *palazzo* was used because the open system of arches and piers provided maximum light and ventilation. Third, the iron framework of the edifice was capable of supporting the full load of the floors *without* the assistance of the walls.⁴⁶ In other words, the Harper Brothers Building was a true example of "cage" construction, a system of construction which was used by the New York skyscraper builders from 1875 to 1889. As such it was an all-important intermediary step between the post and lintel of the Greek temple and the "skeleton" construction of the "Chicago School."

The Gilsey Building designed by John W. Ritch was another example of the Venetian *palazzo* (Fig. 11).⁴⁷ It actually was a block of seven stores in which the *New York Daily Times* reported 350 tons of cast iron was used.⁴⁸ It was erected by Daniel Badger's Architectural Iron Works in 1854.

Badger and his organization played a leading role in the development of the cast iron palace. He was an energetic and enthusiastic promoter of cast-iron construction, a first-rate technician and a man of considerable taste. On his staff were a number of competent designers who furnished "fronts" for prospective clients and aided outside architects who wanted to make use of the

45. As this article goes to press, the question of Bogardus' responsibility for the Harpers Building design is raised by material noted in Richard Howland and Eleanor Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953). Page 88 and plate 65 treat of the iron building for the *Sun*, which is almost identical with the Harpers Building. The authors date the structure 1851, name R. C. Hatfield as architect, and credit Bogardus and Hoppin only with the erection of the edifice. This suggests that Bogardus may have re-used the composition of the building in Baltimore when he came to design the Harpers Building in 1854, a formula presumably worked out by Hatfield three years earlier. On the other hand, it may well be that Bogardus figured prominently in the design as well as in the construction. Quite often, in the case of cast-iron buildings, the role of architect appears to have been little more than that of agent rather than designer. See footnote 51 for more on this subject. Unfortunately, time does not allow for an investigation of this problem now, a problem made all the

more interesting by the fact that there were at least two other buildings that followed the same pattern. One is a cast iron warehouse still standing at 48-50 Murray Street, New York, erected in 1855. The other was the headquarters of the *Public Ledger* done in 1857 for 503-507 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

46. Anonymous, "Making of the Magazine," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXII, pp. 1-31. In the section devoted to a discussion of the building's construction, the article says: "Everything, it will be seen, rests not upon the walls but on the pillars. These are so framed together by girders and beams as to be self-supporting. It is believed that if all the exterior walls were taken away the interior structure with all its contents would be unharmed."

47. Attribution to Ritch from *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 27.

48. The *New York Daily Times* for September 1, 1854, discusses the Gilsey Building.

popular new material. *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, a book published by Badger's firm in 1865, contains a long list of the buildings erected in New York and other cities throughout the United States.⁴⁹ Included are over a hundred plates picturing some of the finest structures constructed by the organization.

Typical is the Cary Building at 105-107 Chambers Street, which was done in association with King & Kellum in 1856.⁵⁰ Here again the arcaded design appears. In this case the arches are supported by coupled columns and separated by rusticated courses of cast iron simulating stone. An ornamental moulding decorates the arches and a string course separates the floors. With the bracketed cornice and central pediment bearing an elaborate shield on which is inscribed the name of the building, the ensemble presents a handsome appearance even today.⁵¹

Perhaps, the best-known structure raised by the Architectural Iron Works and quite possibly the masterpiece of the company, is the Haughwout Building on the northeast corner of Broadway and Broome Street (Fig. 12). It was done in collaboration with the architect J. P. Gaynor in 1857.⁵² The Venetian tradition is strongly marked in this monument which also possesses the kind of sharp, crisp casting that characterizes all of Badger's work. Whether it was this as well as the fine proportions of the structure that made it famous in its day, one cannot say. That it was admired is proved by the fact that it was singled out for special mention by Charles Mackay who thought it one of the best of the cast iron palaces.⁵³ The Haughwout Store is typical of the best period of cast iron architecture in New York which extends from 1854 to about 1860. Thereafter, the variety of detail, the crisp finish, and the faultless taste that characterized the outstanding examples were vulgarized. By 1870 the vast majority of cast iron fronts were coarse and spiritless.

In the middle 1850's, New York architects busily engaged in executing the many commissions that resulted from the city's burgeoning economy, were experimenting with a wide variety of historic styles, although the Italian manner still was the overwhelming favorite. Typical were Richard Upjohn's Mechanic Bank at 33-35 Wall Street erected between 1855 and 1856, the banking house and office building for Duncan and Sherman by Alexander Saeltzer at the corner of Nassau and Pine Streets completed in 1856, and the Bank of New York executed between 1856 and 1858 by Vaux and Withers for 48 Wall Street.⁵⁴ More monumental in scale was Thomas and Son's Bank for Savings at 67 Bleecker Street built between 1854 and 1856.⁵⁵

49. A copy of this all-important source for a study of mid-nineteenth century commercial architecture is in the Avery Library of Columbia University.

50. Attributed to King and Kellum by *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 29. Illustrated in plates VII and VIII. Gameliel King, the senior member of the firm was the well-known Brooklyn architect who did the Brooklyn City Hall (1836-1849). The junior partner, John Kellum, was born in Hempstead, New York, in 1809. A house carpenter by trade, Kellum studied architecture and joined King's staff, becoming foreman of the workshop in due time. In 1846 he was made a full partner. *Appleton's Cyclopedic of American Biography* (III, p. 507) says Kellum "was fertile in invention and particularly successful in adopting the renaissance style of architecture to business purposes." Before his death in 1871, Kellum was to do a large number of business buildings in New York City and in neighboring areas, especially after 1859 when he became the architect for A. T. Stewart.

51. A replica of the Cary façade is to be seen at 620 Broadway. It is the work of the Architectural Iron Works and is credited to John B. Snook in their publication, *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 27, where is to be found as well the notation "sim to Plate VII" (see footnote 50). This and other evidence of a similar nature suggests that the AIW probably played a more important role in the development of cast iron architecture than had been suspected before. It would seem that many designs attributed to leading architects of the day may very well have been the work of AIW designers, such

as G. H. Johnson, who seems to have "ghosted" for busy architects like Kellum and Snook.

52. Credited to J. P. Gaynor in *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 28. Illustrated in plate III. *Trow's New York City Directory* lists E. V. Haughwout at Broadway and Broome Street for the first time in 1857.

53. Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, p. 15.

54. The Mechanic Bank is given to R. Upjohn & Company by *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 32, where the AIW did the dome and lantern. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for May 17, 1856, carries a picture of the bank and a story. *Kennion's Architects' and Builders' Guide*, p. 4, lists A (Alexander) Saeltzer as architect for the Duncan-Sherman Building. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for August 9, 1856, has story and picture. Of the date and architect of the Bank of New York Allan Nevins (*History of the Bank of New York and Trust Company*, New York, 1934, p. 64) says that the cornerstone was laid September 10, 1856, and the building completed in 1858. H. W. Domett (*A History of the Bank of New York*, Cambridge, 1884, p. 92) says the plans were drawn by Vaux and Withers in the Italian style. The directors were so pleased, Domett tells us, that they awarded the architects \$1,500 in addition to the regular payment for services.

55. Records of the Bank for Savings lists payments to Thomas and Son. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for May 10, 1856, has story and illustration.

However, mediaeval sources were exploited as well. Leopold Eidlitz's Continental Bank of 1856 for 5-7 Nassau Street introduced a Romanesque note derived from the works of Hübsch and von Gärtner in Germany.⁵⁶ Related but not quite so elaborate was his American Exchange Bank for 126 Broadway dated 1857-1858 (Fig. 14).⁵⁷ Eidlitz followed these two with a third, the Produce Exchange done in 1860 for Whitehall Street (Fig. 4).⁵⁸ Another variation on the Romanesque theme was Thomas R. Jackson's New York Times Building executed in 1857-1858 for Printing House Square.⁵⁹

Gothic was represented by the Cosmopolitan Art Association Gallery of 1856 at 348 Broadway and designed by Charles Gildemeister, the celebrated architect of the New York Crystal Palace.⁶⁰ Perhaps, the most elaborate version of the Gothic palace was the one designed for the Grover & Baker Sewing Machine Company by G. H. Johnson and built between 1857 and 1858 by the Architectural Iron Works at 495 Broadway (Fig. 13).⁶¹

Neither Romanesque nor Gothic achieved the popularity in the commercial field which they met in church architecture. Certainly they never competed with the Italian Renaissance. In the last years of the 1850's the Tuscan and Venetian formulas were easily the most popular. The most ambitious projects in the Italian manner were the American Express Building by John W. Ritch fronting on Hudson, Jay and Staple Streets and raised between 1857 and 1858; Lord & Taylor's new marble palace at 461-467 Broadway by Thomas and Son, dated 1858-1859, and A. T. Stewart's Uptown Store at Broadway and 10th Street begun in 1859 by John Kellum and finished in 1862 (Figs. 16 and 17).⁶² All three edifices were greatly admired in their day.

Revealing light on the eclectic nature of the palace style is provided by the fact that at the same time John Kellum was doing the Stewart Store in cast iron in the Venetian manner, he also was finishing Ball, Black's new headquarters in marble in the Tuscan (Fig. 18).⁶³ Despite the difference in material and mode, both received the same superlative notices. On October 6, 1860, *Leslie's* carried a long story, the opening paragraph of which was quoted at the beginning of this paper. The second paragraph, followed by a complete description of the store, said: "Among the most massive and richly artistic buildings, the new store of Ball, Black & Co., the celebrated jewelers, will certainly rank the highest. In proportion, in chasteness of design, in rich and elegant

56. Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times*, p. 22; Meeks, "Romanesque Before Richardson," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, p. 21. The Continental Bank is dated 1856 by Russell Sturgis and this date is accepted by Montgomery Schuyler in the latter's "A Great American Architect: Leopold Eidlitz," *The Architectural Record*, XXIV, 1908, p. 378.

57. Schuyler (*ibid.*, p. 378) cites Sturgis to the effect that the American Exchange Bank was still under construction after the completion of the Continental Bank with the former being finished sometime in 1857.

58. *ibid.*, p. 285.

59. For date see *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for March 12, 1859, pp. 225-226. Construction began May 1, 1857 and was completed May 1, 1858. Architect's name from the records of *New York Times* Information Bureau.

60. *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, 1856, p. 308, says that "Guildermeister [sic], the celebrated architect of the New York Crystal Palace, furnished the design in the Gothic style which met with great success. The Cosmopolitan Art Association commenced operations in 1854. Building erected 1856.

61. The Grover & Baker Sewing Machine Company was located at 495 Broadway in 1858 according to *Trow's New York City Directory*. In 1857 it was at 405 Broadway. Hence the building must have been erected during 1857 and finished by 1858. Kouwenhoven (*The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York*, p. 326) dates the structure 1860. *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 27, attributes the design to G. H. John-

son. Illustrated in plate IX. Johnson was manager of the Architectural Iron Works until 1860, when he went to Chicago and participated in the building development there.

62. The Museum of the City of New York has a handsome, colored lithograph of the building naming Ritch as architect. *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 30, also credits Ritch as designer of the American Express Building. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for July 10, 1858, carries a lengthy description and several illustrations of the "new depot and offices" of the American Express Company. Since the structure must have taken about one year to erect, it must have been started sometime in 1857. The *New York Illustrated News* for September 1, 1860, p. 261, has a long story on the store naming Griffith Thomas as architect. The *New York Times* for August 29, 1859, describes the grand opening and comments that the establishment is one of the finest, if not the finest on Broadway. Its extravagant ornamentation, says the newspaper, "would be regarded as a fault by persons of more moderate taste than New Yorkers. . . ." Since the store was opened in August 1859, it must have been started in the last half of 1858. The anonymously written *History of Real Estate, Building and Architecture in New York City* (New York, 1893, p. 459) says the first section of the A. T. Stewart Store was laid in 1859.

63. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for October 6, 1860, p. 313, says the structure was designed by "Messrs. Kellum & Son" and indicates that the store had been just completed.

finish, and in perfect keeping we know of no other building in the whole length of Broadway to equal it."⁶⁴

Thus by the end of the decade one commercial palace was appearing after another; each vaster and more magnificent than the one before. It is no wonder that *Leslie's* felt New York was being converted "into a city of palaces." Even though there was a preference for the Italian, a palace could be done in any of the historic styles just so long as the end result was elegant and aristocratic. Palatial effects were achieved by a free borrowing and even a freer use of picturesque details that were arranged according to a symmetrical system of design. Spacious halls and rotundas lighted with domes, plate glass windows, and flickering crystal chandeliers, grand staircases approached by porticoed entrances marked interiors filled with red plush furniture. The walls were veneered with marble or covered with iron on the outside and frescoed in pinks and blues on the inside.

The next few years saw an interesting development in the palace style. In 1860-1861, Griffith Thomas who became nominal head of the firm of Thomas and Son at this time did a *palazzo* for D. Appleton & Company at 443-445 Broadway.⁶⁵ But two years later the same architect seems to have introduced the French *hôtel* into New York commercial architecture. Of course, the mansarded manner was not new to this country. It had been adapted for residential use shortly after Visconti and Lefuel began to employ it in their work on the additions to the Louvre. By the late 1850's it had won fairly wide acclaim and was being applied to domestic, civic, and institutional architecture.⁶⁶ As far as the writer is aware, however, Thomas' Continental Life Insurance Company Building at 100-102 Broadway, dated 1862-1863, was the first example of the Empire vogue in the New York commercial field (Fig. 19).⁶⁷

High material and labor costs and the uncertainty caused by the Civil War and its immediate aftermath tended to discourage building and held back the development of the Second Empire mode during the middle 1860's. The white marble headquarters of the Mutual Life Insurance at 140-146 Broadway was one of the few ambitious projects undertaken during the years 1863 to 1865 (Fig. 9).⁶⁸ It was built at that time by Kellum and was a typical *palazzo*. Kellum's New York Stock Exchange at Broad Street was a duplicate of his Ball, Black Store.⁶⁹ It was completed in 1865. But his next important work begun in the latter part of 1865 or the early part of 1866 for the *New York Herald* marks Kellum's acceptance of the mansarded formula for business buildings (Fig. 20).⁷⁰

Before the completion of the Herald Building another was started next door at 214-216 Broadway which solidly established the new mode in the commercial field. It was Griffith Thomas' National Park Bank begun in 1867 and finished in 1869 (Fig. 20).⁷¹ Even before its completion,

64. *ibid.*, p. 313.

65. Kennion (*The Architects' and Builders' Guide*, Table of Contents) attributes the building to Griffith Thomas. D. Appleton & Company was at 346-348 Broadway in 1860 according to *Trow's New York City Directory*. In 1861 it is listed at 443-445 Broadway. Thus the structure must have been erected between 1860 and 1861.

66. See Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times*, pp. 25-36. Also Rosalie T. McKenna, "James Renwick, Jr. and the Second Empire Style in the United States," *Magazine of Art*, XLIV, 1951, pp. 97-101.

67. *Trow's New York City Directory* places Continental Life Insurance Company at 18 Wall Street in 1862. In 1863 it is at 102 Broadway. Building attributed to Griffith Thomas by *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, p. 26.

68. According to the records of the Mutual Life Insurance Company the land for a new home office was acquired in 1862. The building was begun April 1863 and finished in March 1865. The architect is listed as John Kellum in the original building committee report still preserved.

69. J. Miller (*New York As It Is*, New York, 1867, p. 34) discusses the work of Kellum and credits the New York Stock Exchange to him. *History of Real Estate . . .*, p. 49, dates the structure. Also see *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for December 30, 1865, p. 229, and *Harper's Weekly*, September 10, 1881, p. 614. This latter reference contains a historical account of the New York Stock Exchange and its architecture in connection with the new structure designed by James Renwick.

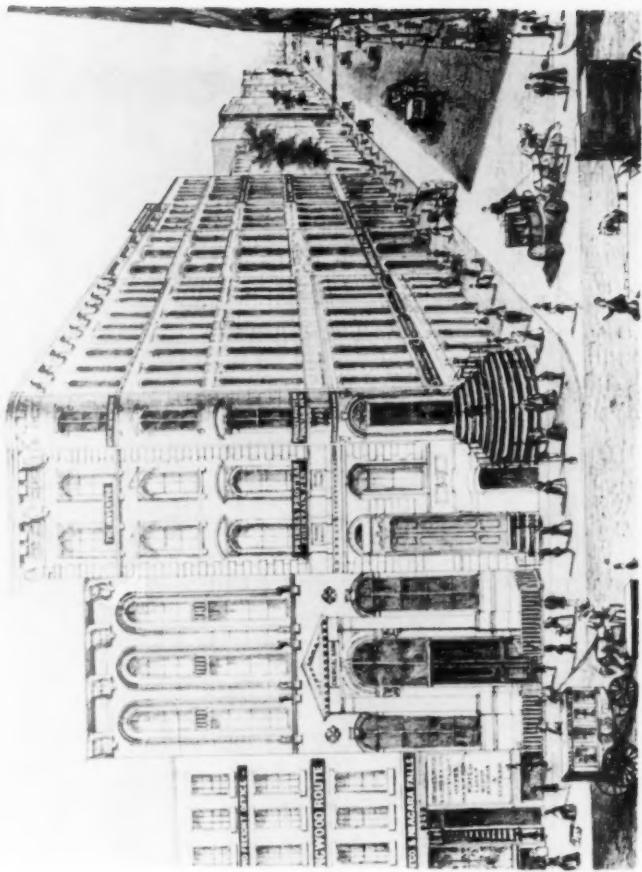
70. Kennion (*Architects' and Builders' Guide*, pp. 49-54) gives a long description of the Herald Building attributing the design to Kellum. *Harper's Weekly*, June 8, 1867, p. 360, contains an illustration. The structure was erected on the site of Barnum's Museum which burned to the ground July 1865. The new building was begun soon after and completed in 1867.

71. The dating and attribution of buildings in New York City after 1866 is simplified by the fact that the records of the Building Department are preserved. Thereafter all plans are filed by number in the New Building Dockets. Recorded



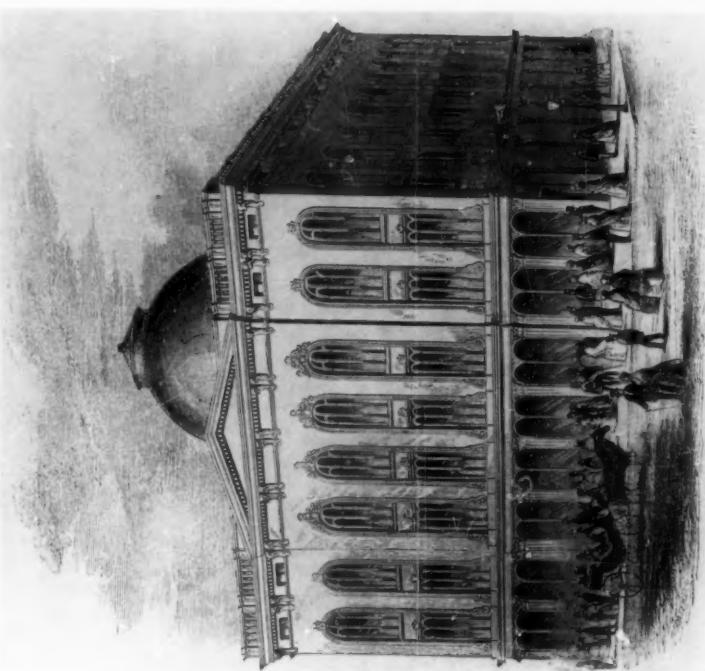
1. Stewart's Downtown Store, Ottavian Gori, 1845-1846. *Henry Hoff's Views of New York*, 1850

(Courtesy Museum of the City of New York)

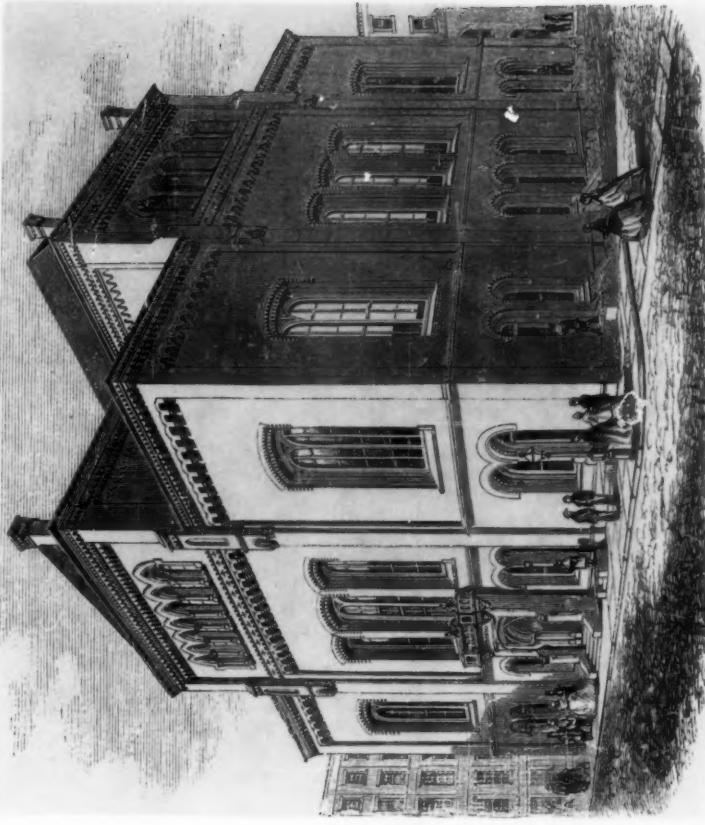


2. Chemical Bank, second from corner, Thomas and Son, 1850-1851. Detail of lithograph.

(Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



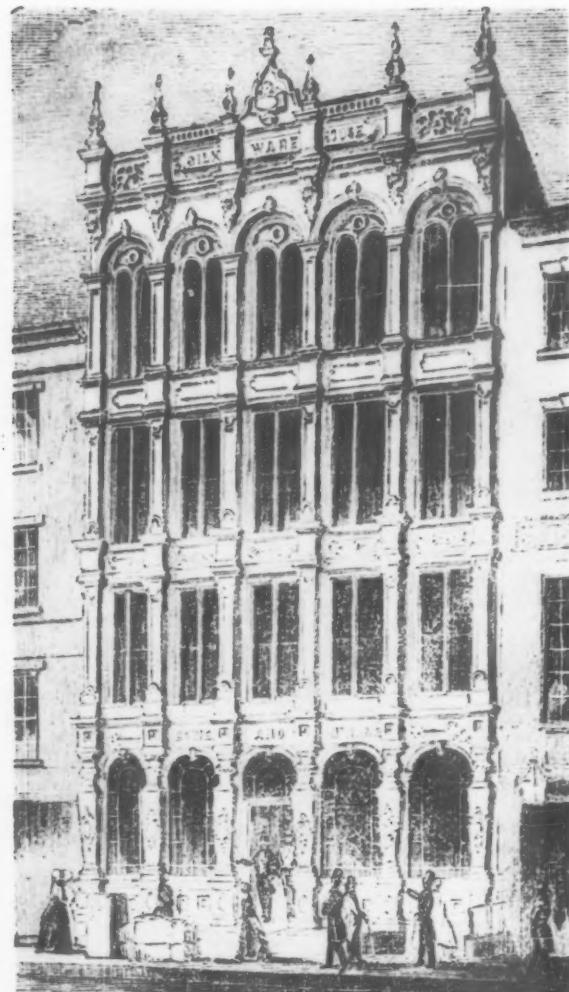
3. Lord & Taylor, Thomas and Son, 1852-1853
(Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



4. Produce Exchange, Leopold Eidlitz, 1860 (*Leslie's*, April 17, 1875)



5. Moffat Building, Thomas and Son, 1847-1848
(Courtesy Museum of the City of New York)



6. Bowen & McNamee Silk Warehouse, Joseph C. Wells
1848-1849 (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



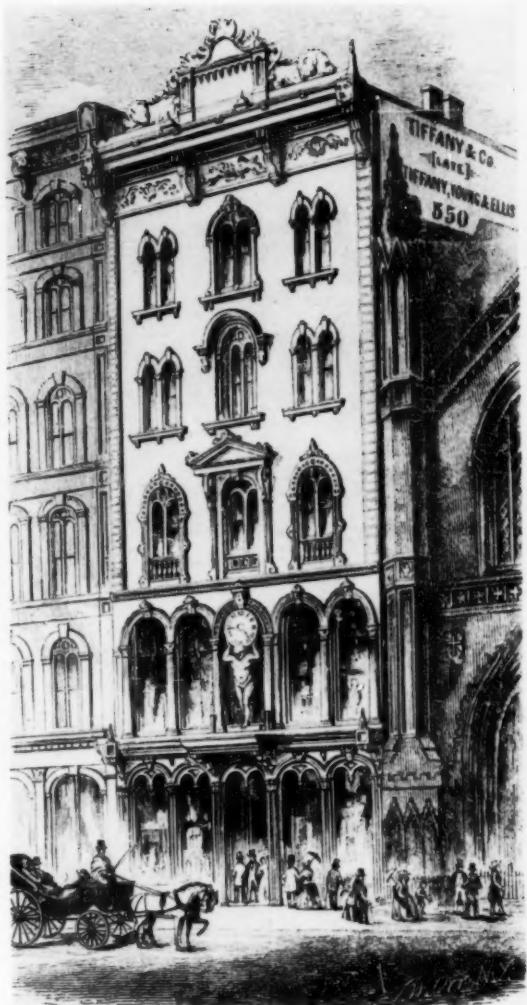
7. Bank of the Republic, architect unknown, 1851-1852
(Putnam's Monthly, I, 1853)



8. Broadway Bank, Thomas and Son, 1852-1853
(Putnam's Monthly, I, 1853)



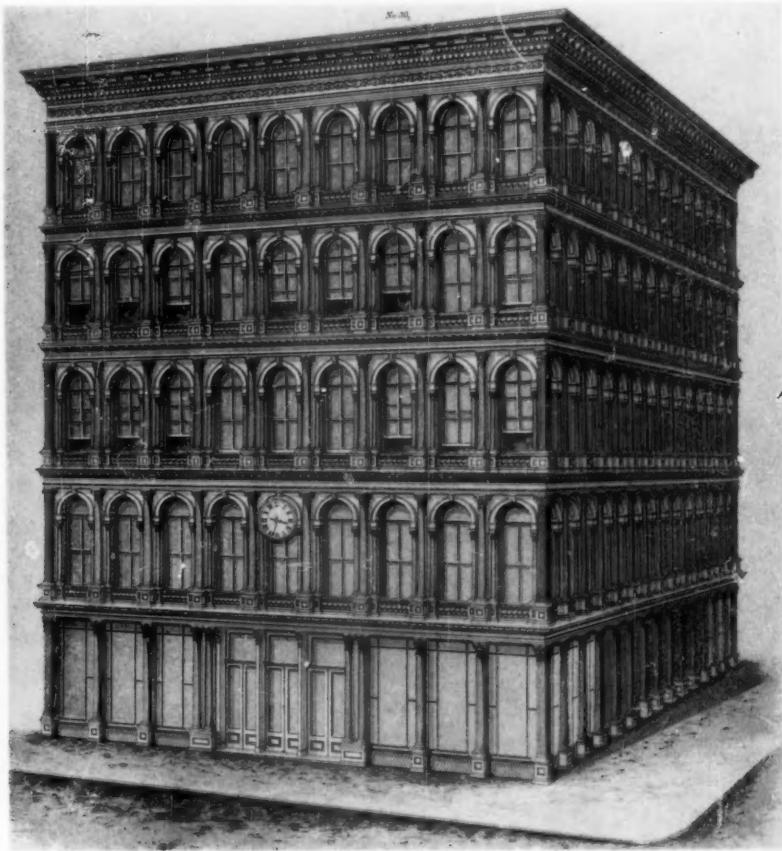
9. Broadway Commercial Palaces in 1870, detail from Proposed Arcade Railroad: from right to left, Metropolitan Bank, Carl Pfeiffer, 1852-1853; Bowen & McNamee Silk Warehouse; Equitable Life Insurance Company Building, Gilman & Kendall and George B. Post, 1868-1870; Cedar Street; American Exchange Bank, Leopold Eiditz, 1857
 (Courtesy J. Clarence Davis Collection, Museum of the City of New York)



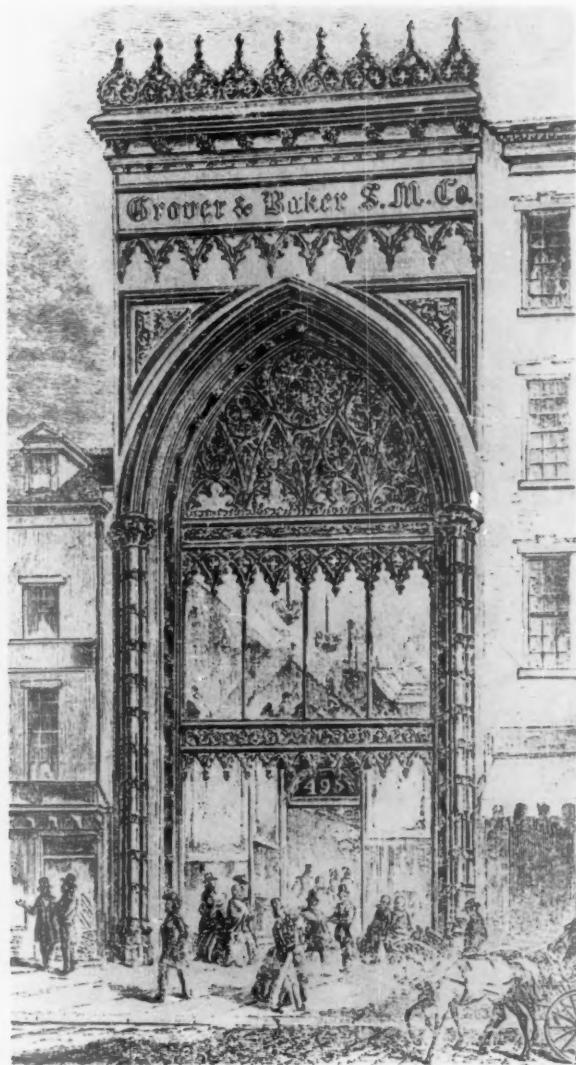
10. Tiffany & Company Store, R. G. Hatfield, 1853-1854 (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



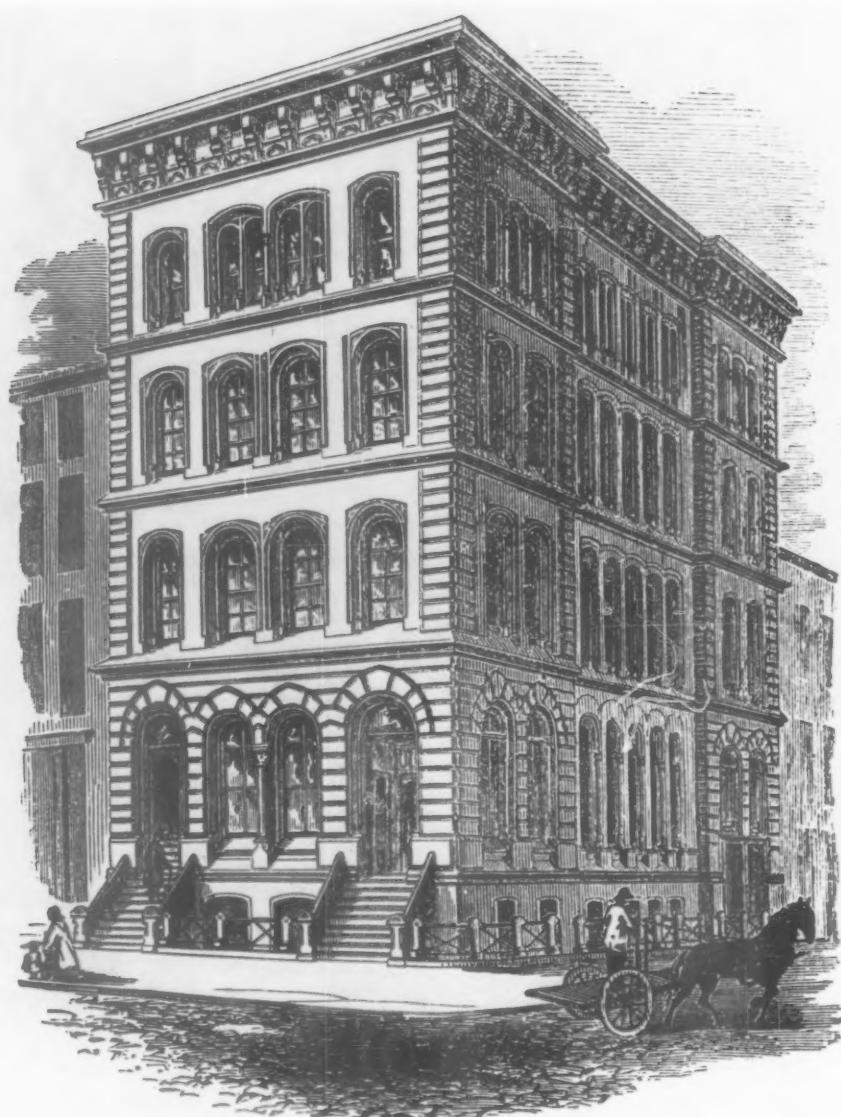
11. Gilsey Building, John W. Ritch, 1854 (*Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, pl. IX. Courtesy Avery Library)



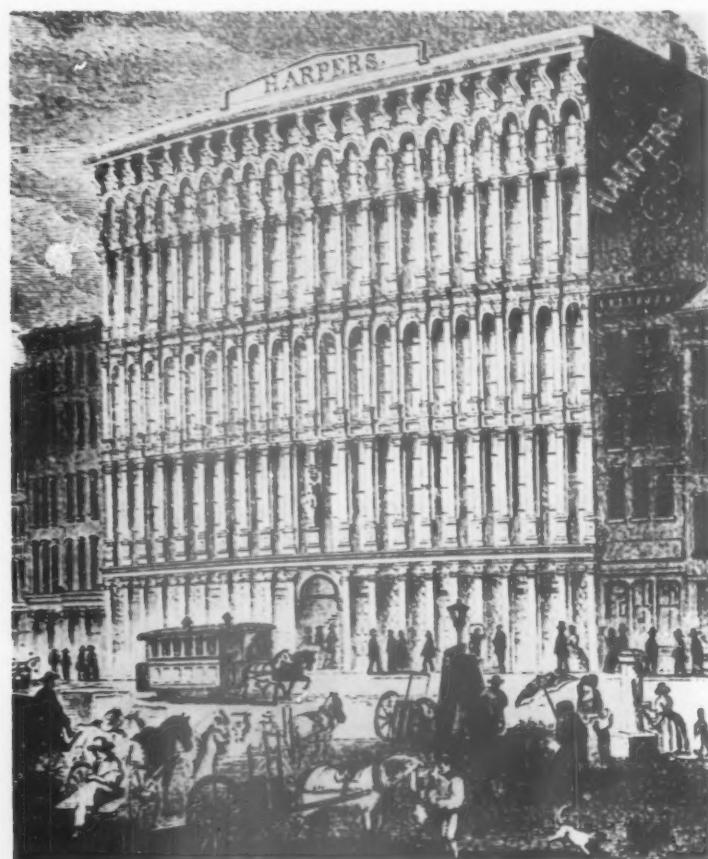
12. Haughwout Building, J. P. Gaynor, 1857 (*Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, pl. III, Courtesy Avery Library)



13. Grover & Baker Sewing Machine Company Building,
G. H. Johnson, 1857-1858
(*New York Illustrated News*, August 25, 1860)



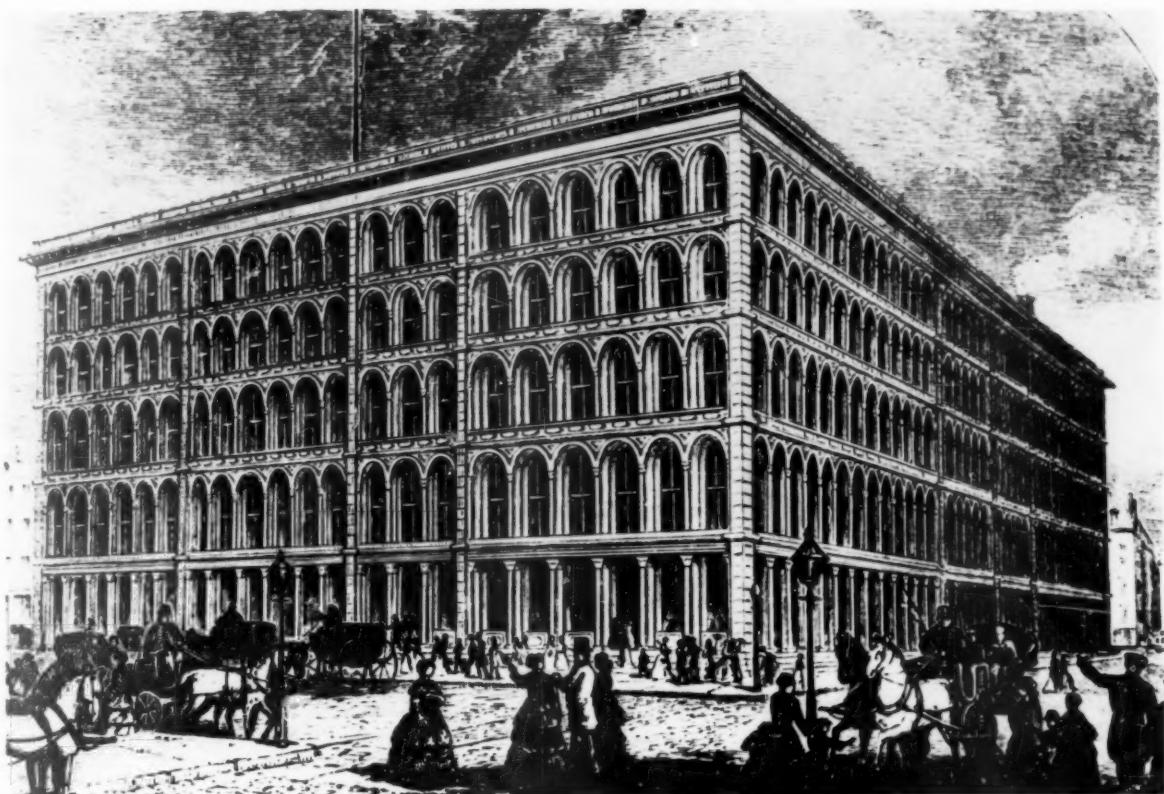
14. American Exchange Bank, Leopold Eidlitz, 1857
(Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



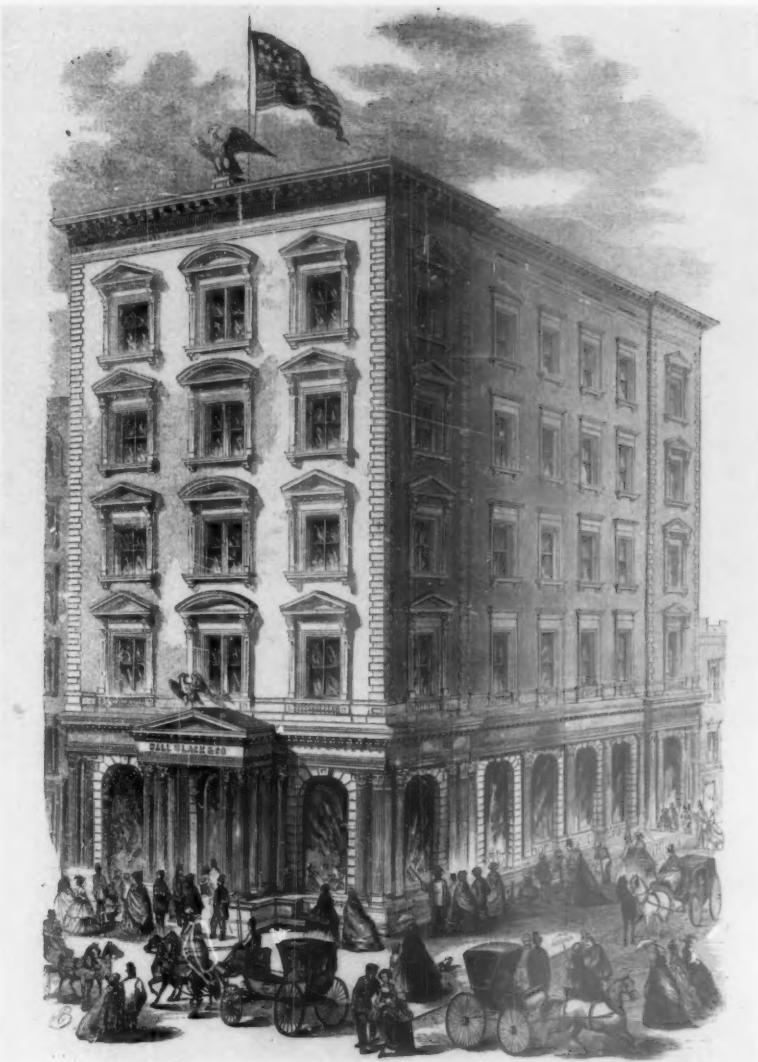
15. Harper Brothers Building, James Bogardus, 1854
(Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



16. Lord & Taylor, Thomas and Son, 1858-1859 (New York *Illustrated News*, September 1, 1860)



17. Stewart's Uptown Store, Kellum and Son, 1859-1862 (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



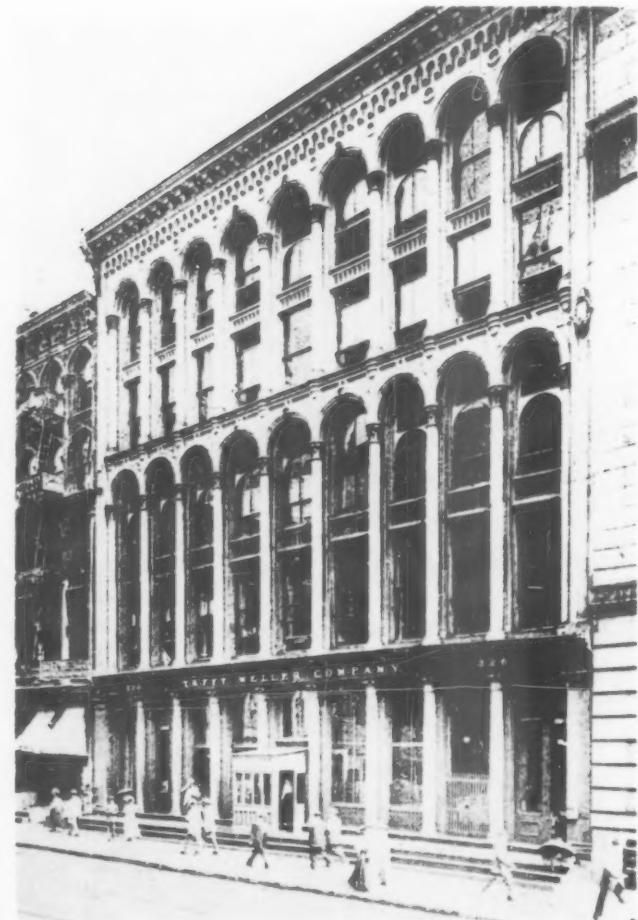
18. Ball, Black Store, Kellum and Son, 1859-1860 (*Leslie's*, October 6, 1860)



19. Continental Life Insurance Company Building, Griffith Thomas, 1862-1863 (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



20. New York Herald Building, left, Kellum and Son, 1865-1867; National Park Bank, Griffith Thomas, 1866-1868 (Joseph Shannon, *Manual of the City of New York*. Courtesy New-York Historical Society)¹



21. Tefft-Weller Store, Kellum and Son ?, 1859-1860 (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



22. Domestic Sewing Machine Company Building, Griffith Thomas, 1872-1873 (*The Daily Graphic*, June 23, 1873)



23. Lord & Taylor, J. H. Giles, 1869-1870 (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)



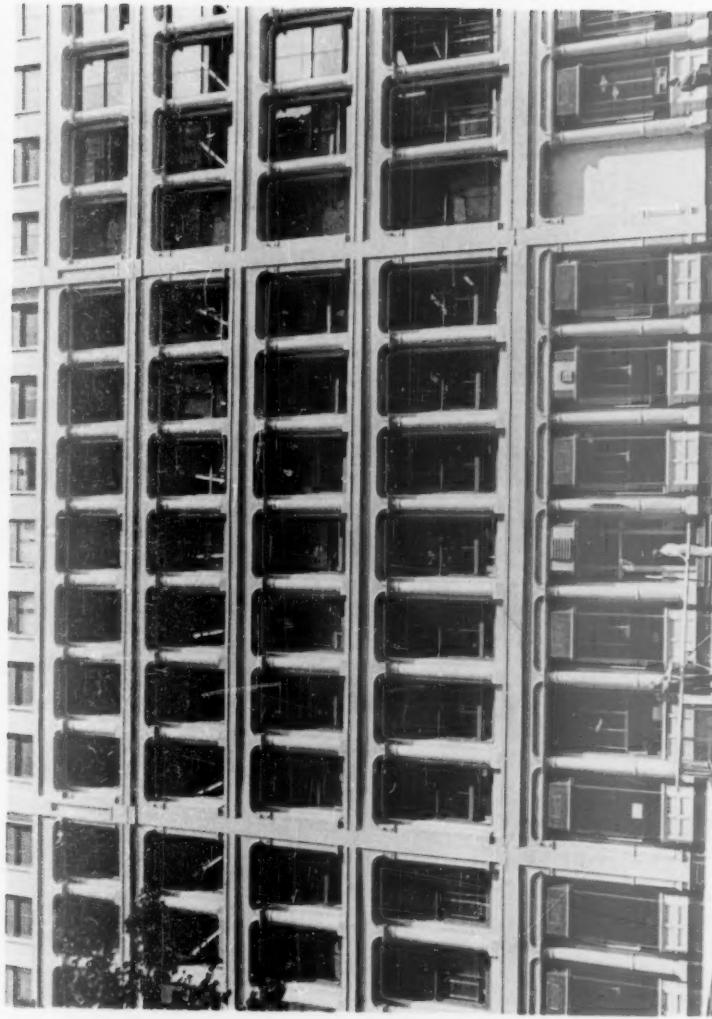
24. Tribune Building, Richard M. Hunt, 1873-1875 (Courtesy J. Clarence Davis Collection, Museum of the City of New York)



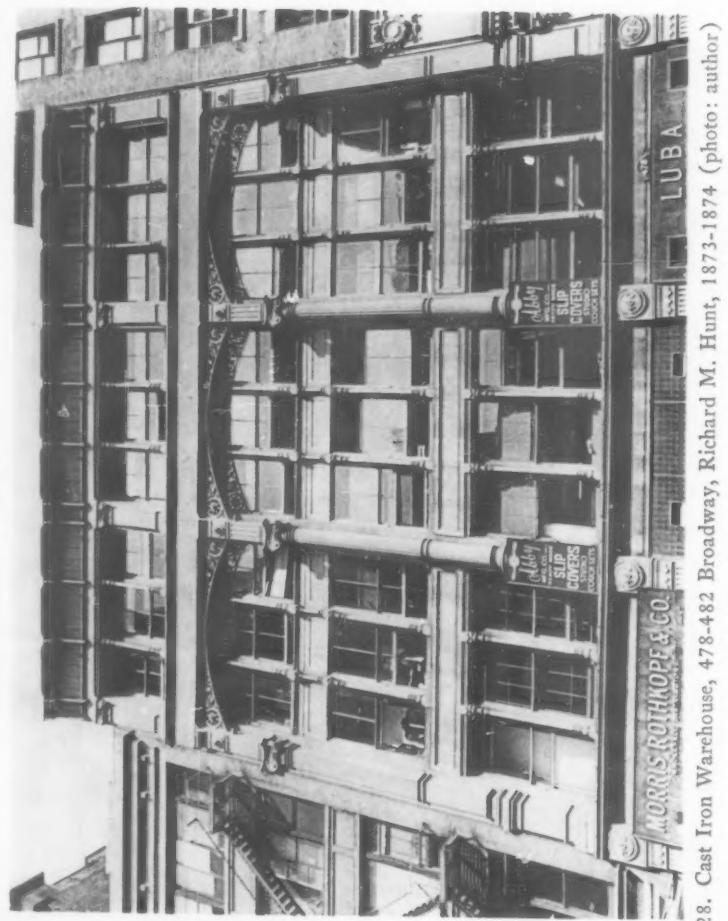
25. Pulitzer Building, George B. Post, 1889-1890 (*King's Photographic Views of New York*, Boston, 1895)



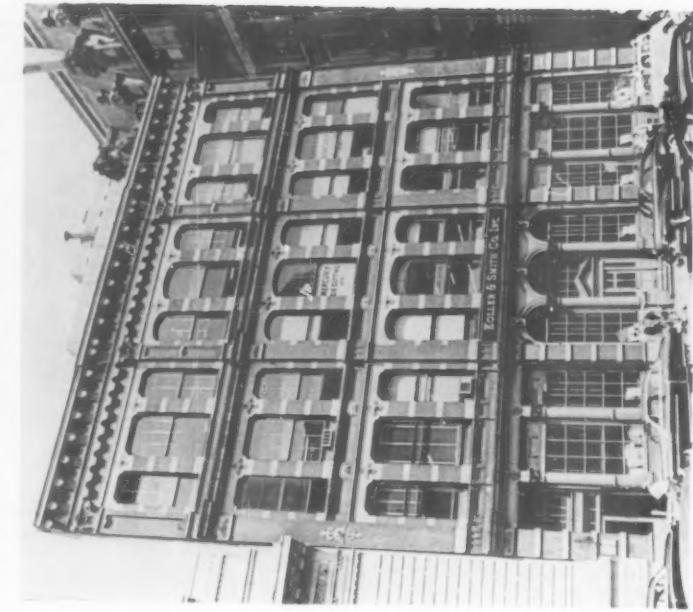
26. Brownstone Warehouse, 62-66 Thomas Street, architect unknown, 1866-1867 (photo: author)



27. Cast Iron Warehouse, Church Street, William Field and Son, 1869-1870 (photo: author)



28. Cast Iron Warehouse, 478-482 Broadway, Richard M. Hunt, 1873-1874 (photo: author)



29. American News Company Building, Griffith Thomas, 1876-1877 (photo: author)

John Kennion forecast the popular response this structure was to receive: "The new Park Bank . . . presents a striking illustration of the high degree of perfection which the science of building has attained in this city. In the completeness and ornateness of design, in the most exquisite harmony of proportions and perfection of finish, as indicated in the progress already made toward completion, it promises to become a splendid and lasting monument to architectural art."⁷²

Kennion's reaction, apparently, was in line with public taste, if we may judge from the *New York Illustrated* of 1871: "The Park Bank . . . is one of the most showy, if not the finest in an architectural point of view, in the city of New York. It has been erected at an immense expense, and is one of the most attractive features of Broadway. At all times crowds of people pause by the railing of St. Paul's to stare up at its elaborate and massive marble front, its colossal features, and its columns and pediments. It is likely for a long time to rank as an architectural boast of the metropolis."⁷³

The *Illustrated's* prophecy was not to be fulfilled, however, for events that had transpired even before the completion of the structure, were destined to produce such a radical change in commercial architecture that before long the palace mode fell into disfavor and eventually was replaced by another.

The structure that precipitated the change was the Equitable Life Insurance Company Building erected by Gilman & Kendall and George B. Post between 1868 and 1870 (Fig. 9).⁷⁴ At first glance, it would seem that the Equitable was not significantly different from its immediate predecessors. Like them it was done in the French manner and had a full complement of Second Empire elements including a grand mansard roof. Like its forerunners of the late 1850's, it was ornate and aristocratic in appearance. But unlike the others, it exploited a comparatively new device, namely the elevator, in a way untried before.

The elevator seems to have had its introduction into New York architecture as a conveyance for passengers during the World's Fair of 1853. (It was probably in use as early as 1850 for hauling freight.) The Latting Observatory built by William Naugle just east of the Crystal Palace had a steam elevator which carried sight-seers up to the first and second landings after which they had to climb a winding staircase to the top level 300 feet from the ground.⁷⁵ The elevator ran up a well-way in the center of the tower that was about fifteen feet in diameter. This was one of the first, if not the first instance of a building project predicated on the use of a passenger elevator. As can easily be imagined the scheme was not a success. *Leslie's*, at the time of the building's destruction by fire in 1856, said it was a "stupendous failure as a business speculation" because visitors refused to climb to the top.⁷⁶ It is likely too, that a large percentage of people were unwilling to risk life and limb in the new contraption even to get to the first or second stages of the Observatory.

Judging from what little is known about the early history of the elevator, the first business building to make use of a passenger elevator was the Haughwout Store in 1857.⁷⁷ So successful was it there that others were installed at the Fifth Avenue Hotel (William Washburn 1856-1858) in 1859 and in Stewart's Uptown Store. A superficial investigation into the construction of warehouses of the early 1860's indicates that most of them had a freight elevator that served passengers also, but at their own risk. They were simple platforms related in form to the lifts of 1850. The ornate cabs with plush seats of the kind found in the Fifth Avenue Hotel were relatively rare.

are the name of the client and architect and the date of application as well as a brief description of the construction system. After 1869 the commencement and completion dates also are given. The National Park Bank is #502 of 1867. Plans were submitted May 15, 1867. Hereafter the source for date and attribution will refer to the New Building Docket number and year, as per example: NBD #502 of 1867.

72. Kennion, *op.cit.*, p. 62. Pages 63-67 offer a detailed description, which the author says is based upon a careful study

of the elaborate plans in the hands of the architect.

73. *D. Appleton's New York Illustrated*, New York, 1871, p. 11.

74. NBD #830 of 1868.

75. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, v, p. 1851.

76. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 13, 1856, p. 214.

77. Kouwenhoven, *Columbia Historical Portrait of New York*, p. 245.

What is significant about all this is that up to this point the elevator seems not to have had any material effect on either the height or the plan of business buildings. In the Equitable, however, it became one of the most important features of the scheme.⁷⁸ The idea in this case was to erect a much taller than average structure (130 feet as against 60 or 70 feet) on the assumption that the elevator would make the upper floors as desirable to tenants as the lower ones. A taller building, naturally, meant greater rental revenue and therefore a better financial proposition. The immediate economic success of the Equitable spelled the doom of the commercial palace because it paved the way for the skyscraper.

One of the curious consequences of the Equitable's experiment was the appearance of a veritable palace monster—*palazzo* below and *hôtel* above. This resulted from the practice of adding mansard roofs on top of the Italianate palaces which had been built in the 1850's. The mansard usually added two stories of rentable space. Among the first structures to acquire a French roof was the Mutual Life Insurance Building (1870-1871).⁷⁹ Napoleon Le Brun added a mansard to the old Constant Building for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1874-1875.⁸⁰ In the same year Equitable replaced its mansard with a taller one.⁸¹ In 1879-1880 Vaux and Radford added a French roof to the Bank of New York mentioned before.⁸²

Of graver consequence for the Palace mode, however, was the irreconcilable problem that had been brought to a head by the exploitation of the elevator. That a problem had existed already in the 1850's is proved by the introduction of vertical articulation into what had been by tradition a horizontal style. The difficulty arose in part from the narrow sites which tended to suggest a perpendicular solution for a five or six story building. In part, it stemmed from a tendency toward verticality inherent in Victorian architecture.

As long as buildings remained five or six stories tall a fairly satisfactory compromise could be worked out. Sometimes the horizontal was accentuated, as in the Cary Building, even where the structure was taller than it was long. At other times, as in the Bowen-McNamee Store, the perpendicular was emphasized. It will be recalled that *Putnam's* critic objected to this verticality of design. By 1853 an interesting scheme had been worked out which called for two story arches arranged laterally across the front of the building. This treatment enjoyed great popularity reaching its height about 1860 as exemplified by such structures as 502-504 Broadway by John Kellum, the Bogardus warehouse at 85 Leonard Street of 1860-1861 and the famous Tefft-Weller Store at 326-330 Broadway built between 1859 and 1860, possibly by Kellum (Fig. 21).⁸³

While these and similar compromises worked fairly well for five story buildings, it can be understood that they could not be made to serve when eight, nine, and ten story structures were involved. At this juncture, the very nature of the architectural form, being tall and slender, demanded a vertical solution which was at odds with the palace formula.

A second factor helped to bring about the eventual demise of the commercial palace. We have seen that one of the chief characteristics of the style was elaborate ornamentation. Decorative elements, such as capitals, mouldings, brackets, etc., had been used quite effectively in many five and six story edifices. But when their height doubled and subsequently quadrupled, this ornament could no longer be seen clearly, if at all, from the ground level. As a result, much of the decoration

78. For a discussion of the role of the Equitable Building in the development of the New York skyscraper, see the author's "New York and the Problem of the First Skyscraper," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XII, 1953, pp. 13-21.

79. Files of the Mutual Life Insurance Company.

80. M. James, *The Metropolitan Life*, New York, 1947, p. 60.

81. From records in the files of the Equitable Life Insurance Company.

82. Nevins, *History of the Bank of New York*, p. 64.

83. The design for 502-504 appears in *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, plate CII and is attributed to Kellum and Son, p. 27. In detail it is identical with the Tefft-Weller Store that can be dated 1859-1860 according to the Tax Assessment Records. In the case of the Tefft-Weller Store three more arches are added to what was a six-arched composition at 502-504. The original design is exactly duplicated again at 55 White Street. The Tax Assessment Records for 1861 reveal that 85 Leonard Street which bears the James Bogardus nameplate in cast iron was begun in December 1860 and finished in 1861.

became meaningless. Oddly enough, this was not realized for some time. Many architects continued the practice of putting palace decoration on tall buildings well into the 1890's and later, as witness the Home Life Insurance Building at Broadway and Park Place erected by Napoleon Le Brun between 1892 and 1894.⁸⁴

In other words, the tall building, made possible by the elevator, tended to promote the use of vertical articulation at the expense of the horizontal and at the same time made meaningless that which had been all-important in the palace mode, namely, ornamentation. As a result, palace architects, when attempting to design structures of more than five or six stories failed miserably in their efforts. For example, when Griffith Thomas executed the Domestic Sewing Machine Company Building in 1872-1873 for the corner of Broadway and Union Square, he encountered great difficulties in trying to stretch the palace pattern to fit an eight story edifice (Fig. 22).⁸⁵ The façade becomes a hodgepodge of rusticated piers, colossal columns, pediments, balustrades, entablatures, cornices, and dormers arranged in slap-dash fashion. Horizontal elements cut across verticals in such an arbitrary and confusing manner that chaos results.

In cases where height was not increased, and there were many commercial buildings erected after 1870 that stayed within the five story limit, the palace formula continued to function as before. John Kellum's cast iron Park Avenue Hotel started in 1869 at 32nd and 33rd Streets for A. T. Stewart and finished in 1875, James H. Giles' Uptown Store for Lord and Taylor at Broadway and 20th Street of 1869-1870 and Griffith Thomas' Arnold Constable Store at Broadway and 19th Street of 1868-1871 are typical of the late Second Empire mode (Fig. 23).⁸⁶

These buildings can be thought of as belonging to a baroque phase of the palace style. While the elements remain much the same, their number increases and the arrangement becomes more complex. The façade is highly modeled with columns and other features projecting boldly from the middle plane while windows are deeply recessed. Furthermore, the silhouette which had been quite severe in the early stages now is elaborated by mansard roofs, pavilions, and corner towers.

The developments of 1873-1875 signal the end of the palace style. Its decline is marked by the erection of the ten and a half story, 230 foot Western Union Building by George B. Post for the corner of Broadway and Dey Street and the nine story, 260 foot Tribune Building by Richard M. Hunt for Printing House Square.⁸⁷

The *Daily Graphic*, in a preview of the Western Union Building on June 3, 1873, headed its story: "A Telegraphic Palace." And in a sense it was. It featured many elements that were found commonly in that style. The columnar portico, the heavily-bracketed cornice which actually made up the seventh floor, the colossal order of the eighth floor with its coupled piers and keystoned arches as well as the mansard roof, were familiar. But the relatively simple treatment of the recessed windows and the strong accent on the piers point to the future. It is significant that when the mansard roof and the eighth and seventh stories burned in 1890, Henry Hardenburgh was able to renovate the structure quite satisfactorily in the contemporary style simply by eliminating the upper floors and the mansard and carrying the system of piers and windows used originally to the new roofline.

The Tribune Building shows a further advance (Fig. 24). Even where the older motifs occur, as in the rusticated ground story, in the pier treatment and in the bracketed cornice and mansard roof, they are transformed and subordinated to the dominant theme of verticality expressed by the piers and the powerful thrust of the tower anchored as it is in the entranceway. The total effect of the design is not elegant. It is structural. Sensuousness gives way to logic. Magnificence is replaced by massiveness. Brick is substituted for marble and iron. Color turns from white and

84. NBD #3149 of 1892. 85. NBD #803 of 1872. 86. NBD #501 of 1869; #1256 of 1869 and #443 of 1868 respectively.

87. NBD #259 of 1873 and #465 of 1873 respectively.

gold to bright red. In other words, there is such a drastic change in the basic concept, in the appeal and in the appearance of the Tribune Building when compared, for example, with Griffith Thomas' Lord and Taylor Store of 1859, that it is obvious these two structures cannot be put into the same category. If the Tribune is not a palace, what is it? Stylistic evidence and other reasons indicate that it belongs to a new breed of building, namely, the skyscraper.⁸⁸

Investigation reveals that this new kind of architectural design with its stress on structure was present and in the process of evolving all through the palace period. Further study is needed before a conclusive and comprehensive statement can be made on the subject. At the moment, it can be traced back to the late thirties and early forties in the writings of such men as Downing, Greenough, and others who were banded together in a loose group by their opposition to the historic styles and their desire for truly American architecture based upon simple and logical solutions. In the beginning this movement, if it can be called that, had no positive program of its own. At times it was anti-Greek and at others, anti-Gothic. In New York it was anti-palace.

One of the leaders of the opposition party was Leopold Eidlitz. According to Montgomery Schuyler, Eidlitz constantly urged a more rational approach to architectural design.⁸⁹ In typical fashion for his time, Eidlitz did not strike out into uncharted regions, but looked back into the past for a manner approximating his ideas and found in the mediaeval manner a suitable vehicle. He believed that mediaeval architecture provided a solution for every type of problem. In this respect, Eidlitz was doing what Arthur Gilman had done before him when he chose the Barry interpretation of the Renaissance to replace the Greek Revival. In his choice of the mediaeval, Eidlitz was related to Viollet-le-Duc who had learned from Gothic cathedrals the lesson of organic architecture and structural expression. The former's rationalism may be seen interpreted in his Continental and American Exchange Banks as well as in the Produce Exchange done between 1857 and 1860.

By 1865 there were indications the movement was making headway, even though it still was a long way from being a threat to the palace style.⁹⁰ In that year the *New York Weekly Review* ran a lengthy series of architectural articles scathingly condemning the "meretriciousness" of contemporary design and calling for a simplicity and directness.⁹¹ The attitude is much like that

88. For "other reasons" see author's "New York and the Problem of the First Skyscraper," *op.cit.*

89. Schuyler ("A Great American Architect . . .," *op.cit.*, p. 280) says: "His [Eidlitz's] whole lifework was devoted to what seemed to his mind the rationalization of architecture, and it was a remarkably clear and vigorous mind. He would perfectly have agreed with that bold literary reformer of architecture, Viollet-le-duc, whom, characteristically, he found 'too timid,' that we can bring the taste of this generation to perfection by making it reason." Schuyler was of the belief that Eidlitz's Continental Bank and American Exchange Bank represented a "great advance" over anything then in New York. What appealed to the critic was the architect's ability to achieve a sense of massiveness despite the introduction of large openings. In other words, as Schuyler put it, Eidlitz was able to solve successfully the problem of making his building look solid and yet satisfy the demands of Ajax.

90. Philadelphia gave evidence of its participation in this movement as early as 1849-1850 as exemplified by William Johnson's Jayne Building on Chestnut Street between 2nd and 3rd Streets. The Leland Building of 1855 on 3rd Street between Chestnut and Market is another excellent example. Chestnut Street contained more than a dozen structures done in the 1850's in which verticality and structure were strongly expressed. Qualitatively these buildings surpass anything erected in New York at that time.

91. Starting with January 14, 1865, the *New York Weekly Review* (Yale University Library) ran a series of articles on New York City architecture called "Our Street, In an Archi-

tectural Point of View," which continued until May 20, 1865, and included twelve pieces all together. Discussed were Peter Wight's Academy of Design, the American Exchange Bank which the author thought very good, the Mutual Life Insurance Building which the author thought very bad, the Produce Exchange, the Peter Cooper Institute and many others. The critic was particularly caustic about many of the cast iron structures on Broadway. Included as "basest of its kind" were the Gilsey Building, Grover & Baker's and Stewart's Uptown Store. Haughwout's was referred to as the "most detestable example." The objection was that these fronts did not reflect the nature of the material; that they were mere shams imitating stone. The remarks of the *New York Weekly Review* are in continuance of a heated controversy touched off by Henry Van Brunt on December 7, 1858, when that architect read a paper before the American Institute of Architects on "Cast Iron in Decorative Architecture" in defense of the prevailing tendency. Two weeks later Leopold Eidlitz wrote a rebuttal with comments by Richard M. Hunt attached. By 1860 architects, editors, and critics were split into three camps: those, who like Eidlitz believed stone the incomparable material; those who were in favor of iron but who thought its nature should be revealed truthfully, and those who were satisfied with the decorative concept in vogue. This controversy probably did much to gain adherents for the anti-palace faction. It certainly brought the issues to light and must have crystallized thinking on the subject. (For added information on this matter I am indebted to Mrs. Ellen Kramer.)

of Eidritz. The magazine's critic, who was unnamed, singled out for special attack the work of Griffith Thomas as well as what he called the "Kellumnar" manner.

A number of excellent buildings executed between 1866 and 1870 suggest that by this time the seeds sown earlier were beginning to flower. The aroma of the past was still noticeable, but something new also was in evidence. A good example is the brownstone warehouse at 62-66 Thomas Street built between 1866 and 1867 (Fig. 26).⁹² The architect is as yet unknown. It may have been Eidritz judging from the mediaeval flavor. The reveals used suggest the massiveness of the walls, and the dynamic and organic relationship between the vertical and horizontal members are typical of Eidritz. Be that as it may, what seems important is that in the stark severity and the strong structural quality of 62-66 Thomas Street we have a good example of the anti-palace attitude.

Curiously enough, even the palace architects, inadvertently contributed to the new movement. They produced a variant of the iron palace in the form of a low-cost warehouse so stripped of ornament that what remained was a highly functional façade in which the uprights and horizontals combine to make for a very organic design. A typical instance is the warehouse on Church Street between Thomas and Worth (Fig. 27). It was built in 1869-1870 by William A. Field and Son.⁹³

In 1870 A. J. Davis was thinking along similar lines, to judge from the unrealized design he did for 751 Broadway.⁹⁴ Davis' façade was essentially a series of stone piers or ribs tied with horizontal panels of sheet metal and glass. Here again the mediaeval flavor is detectable, but is subordinated to the structural accent.

As early as 1871, Richard M. Hunt was working "realistically" in iron in a way that recalled the attitudes of both Eidritz and Viollet-le-Duc. Hunt did two schemes, one for 474-476 Broadway in the Moorish manner and finished in 1872, and the second in the more familiar classic vein at 478-482 done in 1873-1874 (Fig. 28).⁹⁵ Montgomery Schuyler noted that both had been thought out in terms of the material used.⁹⁶ Discussing these structures, the *History of Architecture and the Building Trades in Greater New York* said that in each "a serious attempt was made to utilize the almost unlimited strength of the material in making the uprights as slender and the proportion of glass in the whole front as great as practicable."⁹⁷

What all this indicates is that there was available in 1873 a system of design that was anti-palace in nature in its emphasis upon structure rather than decoration, and that this approach was used by Hunt in his scheme for the Tribune Building. The Tribune, then, may be thought of as the turning point in the struggle between the two modes. After 1873-1875 the palace movement declined gradually. The other flourished magnificently, not in the east where the palace tradition was too deep-rooted, but in Chicago in the works of Sullivan, Root, and others.

In New York commercial palaces continued to be built throughout the seventies and eighties. Griffith Thomas erected one for Arnold, Constable in 1876-1877 on Fifth Avenue and 20th Street, for example.⁹⁸ But the fact that this architect who had devoted his whole professional life to the palace vogue, did the American News Building at 39-41 Chambers Street at the same time in the structural manner suggests that the palace mode was reaching its end (Fig. 29).⁹⁹ Actually its dying gasp is represented in what is called the "classicism" of McKim, Meade and White, Carrere & Hastings and George B. Post as witness the latter's Pulitzer Building of 1889-

92. Dated on the basis of the New York City Tax Assessment Records.

93. NBD #634 of 1869.

94. Roger Hale Newton, *Town and Davis, Architects*, New York, 1942, pp. 287-288.

95. NBD #898 of 1871 and #285 of 1873.

96. Montgomery Schuyler ("Works of the Late Richard M. Hunt," *The Architectural Record*, v, 1895, p. 110) discuss-

ing these structures says: "Each had the fundamental merit of being unmistakably designed for its material . . . the 'iron age' in commercial building produced nothing better than these two fronts and very few things so good."

97. P. 50.

98. NBD #250 of 1876.

99. NBD #249 of 1876.

1890 (Fig. 25).¹⁰⁰ That it could rise up from its deathbed, so to speak, and deliver one last blow at its adversary in the Columbian Exposition of 1893 proves how powerful a force it was. It was not until the coming of the International style in the twentieth century that the palace mode finally was laid to rest.

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100. NBD #980 of 1889.

BOOK REVIEWS

PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, with an Appendix by Herbert Bloch, Cambridge, Mass., The Archaeological Institute of America, 1953. Pp. 230; 42 pls.; 80 figs. \$12.50.

At long last we have a thoroughly comprehensive study of the paintings from the Villa at Boscoreale near Pompeii, which passes under the name of Publius Fannius Synistor's dwelling, although it is not certain that he was the owner and we do not know who built this country house some time after 50 B.C. The publication presents a wealth of comparative material. It represents a vast amount of scholarly research and offers a very interesting text that places the various paintings, widely scattered among the museums of Europe and America, in their proper context, to say nothing of the often brilliant analyses of style and subject matter. The bibliography cited covers about four pages.

The introduction discusses the plan and ownership of the villa, which is no longer visible, and takes up the paintings which adorned the various rooms. The problem of ownership is supplemented by a brief appendix by Herbert Bloch, in which it becomes clear from a graffito that the villa was auctioned in A.D. 12 and passed from the hands of the original owner. Evidence for later ownership is supposedly supplied by an inscription with the name of Publius Fannius Synistor on a bronze vessel found in room 24 of the villa, and by a bronze seal in the form of a bar with ring handle which contained the inscription, L. HER. FLO., from one of the rooms of the villa and now in the Metropolitan Museum. The name is shown to be Lucius Herennius Florus rather than Lucius Herius Florus, a name which does not appear at Pompeii. Fannius Synistor may have been an owner of the villa some time before A.D. 79, though this is not certain. The forms of the letters place the inscription in the first century A.D. before the destruction of Pompeii, where the inscription L. Herennius Florus also belongs. Herennius, too, might have been an owner, but this is even less certain than Synistor's claim. The matter must be left open, yet long association of the name of P. Fannius Synistor with the villa makes it advisable to retain his name.

The author concentrates her attention on the paintings from the villa now in the Metropolitan Museum and in Naples. They are described at length in Chapter II, the murals in the Cubiculum in Chapter III, and all New York paintings from the villa in a descriptive catalogue. These murals adorned two rooms: H, usually called a Triclinium, which it certainly was not, as the author proves, and the Cubiculum or bedroom M—both rooms at the northern end of the villa.

The most debatable part of the book concerns the interpretation of the subject matter of the paintings in room H, christened here the Hall of Aphrodite. Many of the paintings on the walls of this room definitely deal with divinities; a number certainly portray Aphro-

dite and Eros, others Dionysos and Ariadne or the Graces. The main question is whether the monumental paintings with representations of figures depicted with ample forms and voluminous drapery and executed in a baroque style portray the romantic and long popular story of Aphrodite and Adonis. It must be stated at the outset that a number of scholars have accepted this interpretation. To this reviewer it does not, however, seem plausible. Against it are: the genre character of the paintings, the portrait-like faces of the tight-lipped female figures, who are, however, not likenesses of members of a Macedonian family; the fact that no remnant of divinity marks these figures in pose, physiognomy, or attribute; the strange headdresses that are not completely paralleled anywhere else; the differing versions of the figures designated as Aphrodite, though it must be admitted that they are at times so badly damaged that little can be made out. On monuments where the representation of the story of Aphrodite and Adonis cannot be doubted, most of these features are missing. The highly individualized portrait of the old bearded philosopher (?) with his unpretentious garment and lounging pose does not suggest rich King Kinyras. He wears a carnelian ring set in gold, as "Aphrodite" does in the Naples panel, but this was the prerogative of ordinary mortals. Aphrodite, although often bejeweled, does not to my knowledge wear a wedding ring. It was customary for married women in Italy, though not in Greece. It is, however, worn by Ariadne in the Villa Item paintings.

It is unlikely that the lighting of the hall was an attempt to re-create the conditions under which the annual celebration of the Adonia occurred, or that the star that appeared on the heights of Lebanon and dived into the river like a star by Aphrodite's sanctuary at Aphaca can be connected with Pompeii because of the star on the painted shield in the Naples panel. In fact, an astral significance for the star on the shield is dubious. A star appears again on a painted shield shown hanging in the Cubiculum, as noted by the author.

The paintings in the Cubiculum have often been interpreted as representing the stage sets of tragedy, comedy, and satyr plays. This theory has been gradually losing popularity with students of the theatre and painting in recent years. The author discusses the supposedly urban views depicted and convincingly concludes that the lateral walls represent "parts of a coherent villa prospect"; "the triple-panelled lateral walls represent elements only to be found together on a Roman villa." The theory of theatre stage sets is thus disposed of.

The chapter on style and execution is full of important material on ancient painting. Especially well argued is the importance of the Villa of Boscoreale for different types of landscape and as a forerunner in its examples in monochrome of the yellow frieze in the House of Livia. The problems concerning perspective are clearly presented. The traditional Hellen-

istic items and motives handed down in the paintings are overshadowed by the "great majority of objects depicted . . . without earlier parallel, literary or monumental." These make the murals a product of their own time, not copies of Hellenistic originals. Discussion of the technique of the paintings, of the different masters at work on them, of the significance of the triptych panel paintings, of still life and many other interesting subjects are included. The paintings are dated at 40 B.C.

The author is to be congratulated on her achievement. Whether or not one agrees with all of the ideas and theories set forth, the permanent importance of the volume is assured. The book must be used in any future study of the Boscoreale Villa and its decoration and in any discussion of the Second Style. It is refreshing to meet with a scholarly text that is a pleasure to read and one in which the author is not afraid to tackle new interpretations. Many long-standing theories have been examined and not a few demolished. The reviewer, unhappily, cannot suggest an interpretation for the scenes in the Hall of Aphrodite, but believes that the leading figures give us portraits of members of the interesting household whose taste is reflected in all aspects of the villa.

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K. A. C. CRESWELL, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt, I. Ikhshids and Fātimids, A.D. 939-1171*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1952, Pp. 292; 125 pls.; 172 figs. \$65.00.

This noble folio is the third in a unique series that was inaugurated in 1932 with the appearance of Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture, Part I* and was continued in 1940 with the publication of a second volume of the same title. These volumes were concerned with structures erected in all Moslem lands during the first three centuries of that era, while the present work starts from the chronological point reached at the end of Part II and traces architectural history in Egypt alone.

The current work is physically as handsome and impressive as were its predecessors, for it weighs 18 pounds, displays some 125 collotype plates and 173 figures in the text, and provides a separate map of Cairo in two large, color-printed sheets. The sumptuousness of the series stems from royal generosity, ex-king Farouk I having followed the example of his father Fuad I. Such a feature as a folding plate printed in thirteen different colored or hatched overlays places the work *hors de concours* as regards competition with publications sponsored by private or collegiate presses, for here is the scholar's dream of an unlimited number of pages, illustrations, and notes. It is certain that the author will continue with a series on Moslem architecture in Egypt, although this statement of intent seems to appear only in a note in the present text, and every reader will expect that continuing support from the government of Egypt will be available for main-

taining the established format. This volume has no index, but the model of the first two volumes suggests that it will be found in the final volume of the series devoted to Egypt.

Scattered throughout the text, the reader may pick up clues to the concept and development of the project. First coming to Cairo in 1916, Creswell began his study of its Moslem monuments in 1917, made a first plan of the mosque of al-Hakīm in 1920, worked unceasingly in the intervening years, and by 1943 had written a good part of this volume. Details of devotion to his chosen lifework are also reflected throughout the volume: his efforts have resulted in the repair of many structures and the removal of later intrusions from primary monuments; his own translations of passages from historians writing in Arabic abound; his photography, frequently done from special scaffolds, is of superb quality; specific excavations played their role in the meticulous examination of the structures; there are exhaustive bibliographies; and the work is a treasure house of beautifully executed plans, sections and elevations, many from his own hand.

In this volume there is a list of some 45 monuments which have been studied in detail but two of these items are actually categories, each including a number of structures. At the conclusion of the text the architecture of the Fātimid period is characterized in two pages. According to the author, both mosque and mausoleum continued to evolve throughout the period and a number of new types of religious structures came into being. Influences from North Africa and Syria are evident, the first steps in the evolution of the stalactite pendentive took place, and the chief glory of the period lay in its ornamentation of structure.

In one of his earlier volumes Creswell gave a succinct account of the system by which he studied a monument. The steps include: 1) a description of the original structure, 2) analysis (where necessary), and 3) account of architectural origins. In the present text each of these steps is carried out with consummate thoroughness and concentration: the description is prefaced by extracts from contemporary writers; the analysis establishes successive periods of construction, and the discussions of architectural origins are far ranging and exhaustive. It is not possible, within the bounds of a review, to trace in detail his accounts of the many monuments, but a few highlights from the panorama of two centuries may be selected. The chapter on the "Foundations of Cairo" is a brilliant effort, far more comprehensive than any previous article on this subject, and is admirably illuminated by the inclusion of a plan of the modern town upon which the lines of the early walls of the town, each in a separate color, are superimposed. Typical of the relationship between meticulousness of study and elaborateness of illustration is the 18 x 22" folding plan of the al-Azhar mosque with each of thirteen suggested construction periods identified by a distinctive hatching or color tone. There are many noteworthy drawings of reconstructed plans, while the bird's-eye view of the reconstructed al-Hakīm mosque is of particular interest. There are also

lovely, large-scale drawings of minarets and arcades, as well as a corpus of ornamental details. It is probable that only those readers who have themselves labored to record and publish architectural monuments will be aware of how vast an amount of time and how high a degree of professional competence was involved in the preparation of these drawings.

With a volume provided with such exceptional paraphernalia and exposed in so much detail so painstakingly presented, it might be thought that the text itself would be impersonal and stylized. However, this is not the case, and the personal interests, methods, and opinions of the author are omnipresent. In one case his investigation of a bit of minutiae connected with the Bāb an-Nāṣr—an iron ball fixed to a rod—led him to the conclusion that modern weight lifters are just as strong as those of earlier Moslem centuries. In other cases peculiarities of treatment appear. As an example, some parts of the text were not revised to take into account the current conditions of the structures. Thus, the text itself states that the approach to the al-Hakīm mosque is along a lane, "flanked on the left by some mean houses followed by the so-called mausoleum of Badr al-Gamālī, and on the right by the side of an *okāla*, which hides the greater part of the curtain wall between this gateway and the western salient and overlaps the gateway itself," but one note to this sentence tells us that the mean houses are now demolished and a second note states that the *okāla* was demolished in 1947, while a collotype plate reveals that the entire northwest façade has been cleared of all later intrusions, except for the mausoleum mentioned.

Consistency in the transliteration of Arabic and in the use of Arabic terminology appears wanting. In Creswell's first two volumes the Arabic letter *jim* was transliterated as *j* but in this volume it is given as *g*, in line with the spoken tongue of modern Egypt. This usage forces the author into conflicting transliterations for structures dealt with in his earlier volumes and produces forms which are not acceptable in other Moslem lands, such as *Masjid-i-Gāmī'* for *Masjid-i-Jāmī'*. Given the very frequent use of Arabic terms in the text it is questionable whether the important monuments should bear such bilingual names as "Mosque of al-Azhar" and "Mosque of al-Hakīm." It would be preferable to designate a mosque as the *Masjid al-Hakīm* or the *Masjid-i-Gāmī' al-Hakīm*, according to whether the mosque was one among many or was the important "congregational" or "Friday" mosque at the time of erection: these distinctions are present in the source material. In the same way, one figure illustrates portions of three mosques in Iran with each identified as the Great Mosque of its town: the mosques shown are each the *Masjid-i-Jāmī'* of the town, with the term lacking a primary connotation of size.

Fervently attached to his own beliefs, Creswell may seem less than lenient toward earlier or less well qualified workers in his field. Thus, on one page his argument, he says, "disposes forever of Dr. Butler's Coptic theory, which, as a matter of fact, has never found any followers." The statement, "on historical grounds,

therefore, I regard the alleged Persian influence in Fātimid architecture as a myth," is reiterated several times, the author concluding that not the least important part of his study of the Fātimid period was to establish the absence of Persian influence. This point may be needlessly labored, for the theory was rather casually presented in 1891, 1907, 1909 and 1932 when the Moslem structures of Iran were still quite unknown and it has never been taken seriously in recent years.

In another section Creswell's descriptions of the houses excavated at Fusṭāṭ by others may be biased, since it appears he holds to a theory which denies the existence of many of the *līwāns* (vaulted, open-ended, rectangular rooms) recognized as such by the excavators. In one place he writes, "I prefer to call them recesses instead of using the exaggerated term *līwān*," and in another, "a recess, much too small to deserve the term *līwān*," while in summarizing the characteristics of these houses he avoids any mention of the fact that some may have had three or even four *līwāns* flanking an open court.

Creswell's method of tracing architectural origins is to pursue, with incredible zeal, prior examples of resemblances in plan form, structure, and ornament with the method applied in such a restricted and mechanical fashion that the resulting prototypes are not always equally convincing. In searching for the origin of the Moslem domed mausoleum Creswell concentrated upon prototypes of function which displayed structural affinities and settled upon the canopy tombs of Hellenistic Syria, with the fact that the Greek mother of a Khalif built the first (historically documented) mausoleum offered as providing the necessary link between the Hellenistic mausoleum and Islam. In his search Iran is lightly dismissed for its three ancient mausolea are of the Achaemenid period and lack vaulting. However, even the author seems uncertain about his solution, for he returns to the early Moslem tombs of Egypt on later pages, stating that some have "squinches constructed exactly like those of Firūzābād," in Sasanian Iran, while another is a "truncated version of the Sasanian fire temple at Gīrā," "though how its design came about remains a mystery, for the two are separated by seven centuries and fourteen hundred miles." This mystery might not exist if Creswell's search had covered all prototypes of plan and structure rather than only prototypes of both function and form, and if allowance had been made for the fact that the disappearance of thousands of monuments over the passage of centuries has left gaps that are not susceptible of bridging through any comparison of photographs of existing structures.

Given the author's extraordinary familiarity with monuments in several Moslem countries, it is to be regretted that he has not extended his travel and research to Iran, for as the current series of volumes on Egypt progresses the comparable Iranian material will become even more pertinent to his task. Those errors in references to Iran and its monuments which are to be found in this volume seem to stem from lack of direct

experience. For example, in Creswell's list of the earliest surviving Moslem mausolea one "is the dome built at Qumm in 366 H. (976/7) over the tomb of Muhammad ibn Mūsā, who died on 22 Rabi' I, 296 (19th Dec. 908)." Now, the structure in question at Qumm is the Imānzāda 'Alī ibn Ja'far, which was first erected in A.D. 1301, and a funerary stela from this mausoleum gives the names of one of the sons of 'Alī ibn Ja'far as Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Kāzem.

It would be remarkable indeed for a reviewer to study a volume which was at the same time free from errors and executed according to a concept and method with which he was in perfect agreement. However, it may be a duty to point out to potential readers, who might otherwise be overwhelmed by the sheer virtuosity of this work, that it does contain traces of human frailty. Critical comments will not weaken the fabric of Creswell's growing structure nor should they serve to conceal this reviewer's admiration for this volume and this series: a perfect model of scholarly devotion, research, persistence, and acumen.

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JEAN SEZNEC, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods; the Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, translated from the French by Barbara F. Sessions, New York, Pantheon Books (Bollingen Series XXXVIII), 1953. Pp. 376; 108 ills. \$6.50.

The French original of Jean Seznec's *Survival of the Pagan Gods* appeared in 1940. An English translation of what the *cognoscenti* from the beginning recognized as a minor classic has been due for some time. Dr. Seznec's opus—rich in *intellettuali bellezze*—in spite, or perhaps on account, of its impressive scholarly discipline, invites the reader (but does not compel him) to imbibe it from beginning to end. The complex theme unfolds like an epic and remains clear throughout as Seznec traces with superb skill the gradual transformation of the pagan gods, their allegorical disguises, their liberation, along with the concomitant counterpoint of classical content and classical form, severed in the Middle Ages, rejoined in the Renaissance.

In Book I, Part One, the author outlines the three main areas in which the images and characters of the gods are handed down from the late classical past to Christian times: Euhemerism, Astrology, and Allegory, to which he adds the vehicle by which this happens. The two chapters forming Part Two deal more specifically with the mediaeval treatment of mythology: its physical appearance and its literary form, and the re-integration whereby, in the Renaissance, classical form and classical content (although heavily charged with mediaeval substance) are once more, as in classical times, united. Book II is devoted to the fate of the

pagan gods in Renaissance, Mannerism, and Baroque. We are presented with the great triad of Italian Renaissance manuals of mythography (Gyraldus, Conti, Cartari) and its proto-Renaissance sources; after this follows an analysis of the two-fold aspect of Mannerist art theory dealing with mythology: that of the artists and that of the Church of the Council of Trent. The book ends with a chapter on the practical use and purpose of those handbooks in the course of the Renaissance. Here Seznec contrasts, among the artists and writers of Europe, on the one hand the slaves held down by the fetters of mythography and on the other the magicians who freely adapt mythology to their own aesthetic and iconographic ends. A brief but significant Conclusion ends the text. The apparatus consists of a list of Illustrations, of a bibliography for both primary and secondary sources, and an index.

Seznec's book, clearly, is a tribute to the method and mechanics, if not to the philosophy, of the Warburg school. The initiate could hardly wish for a more elaborate and better-documented review of some of the fundamental issues with which Panofsky, Saxl, Wind, Seznec himself, and others have dealt in specialized studies. The outsider, curious about the approach cultivated by the Warburg Institute, could hardly hope to find a more attractive introduction to some of its admittedly intricate methods. I should advise the outsider to begin in the middle (pp. 211ff.), where he will find a programmatic summing up that should greatly aid him in following the exposition *ab ovo*. In his manner of presentation Seznec recaptures something of the simplicity of Aby Warburg, who, I am told, would parody the overspecialized scholar by saying: "The Chinese, as is well known, have no molars." Seznec spares us the humiliation of many a tempting "as is well known." Moreover, quotations in foreign languages have been meticulously translated so that the reader, on one and the same page, has the choice between original and translation. The index supplies a convenient Who's Who of authorities cited. More will be said about the bibliographies at the end of this review.

Every attentive reader is bound to find in Seznec's book passages which will throw new light on problems which have either been dimly understood hitherto or, on account of overfamiliarity, have lost in substance. To name just a few, this reviewer was particularly fascinated by the conservative analysis of the iconography of the *Tempio Malatestiano* (pp. 133ff.); by the new awareness of the longevity of moral-didactic card games, lasting from the fifteenth century *Tarocchi* (p. 137) to the times of Louis XIV (p. 321);¹ by the convincing deductions explaining the existence of "Babylonian gods clothed in Giottesque costumes"; by the important discovery of the two "Albricus" authors (pp. 170ff.); by the many excellent explanations of the use and function of allegory as the indispensable medium that accounts for the existence of the

1. Mythological card games were designed by well-known artists, among others Stefano della Bella (*Le Jeu de Fables*,

Paris, 1644) and Jacques-Louis David (at the command of Napoleon, 1811).

pagan divinities in Christian settings, both mediaeval and Renaissance; by the thorough appraisal of the texts of the Renaissance mythographers and their echoes in the *Ragionamenti* of Vasari and others.

Needless to say, in reading a book which undertakes to survey a field so vast as to be almost limitless, the critical and curious cannot, in spite of the author's self-imposed limitations ("we have throughout subordinated our ambition to be comprehensive to our regard for clarity"), fail to be disappointed at times. Seznec hardly mentions the mediaeval archaeological interest in and understanding of the gods. The *Mirabilia* and master Gregorius (who, around 1200, wrote a perceptive *Narracio* in which he linked the classical texts with the classical statues of the gods which he saw in Rome), as well as the many fictitious accounts of the pagan divinities and their settings,² are not mentioned. The Goddess Fortuna, the pagan divinity *par excellence* to survive the Middle Ages unscathed, is discussed only incidentally.³ The mediaeval and, for that matter, the Renaissance appreciation of the classical authors in the original seems to be underestimated.⁴ The harmonious reintegration of the classical gods—in retrospect no more than a short-lived interlude marking but, in a sense, also constituting the High Renaissance—is, it seems to me, not thrown into clear enough relief. Besides Michelangelo and Raphael one might point at Giulio Romano's achievement in his frescoes at Mantua (that is, in Vergil's home town) which amounts to a bold presentation of the gods of the *Aeneid* in their classical dress and undress; at Leonardo's careful and elaborate designs for the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Island of Cyprus (the oldest site of the worship of the goddess), or similar instances in which besides form and content the locale of the ancient divinities plays an important part in the re-creation of their past. On the whole it strikes one that Seznec is lacking in sympathy with the allegorical method employed in Renaissance days. Surely a method so tenaciously and so widely employed was more than an emergency measure, in the author's words a "fraud," or "a concealing veil and an honorable formula of compromise" (which latter, on page 275, is set into parallel with the "uneasiness and false modesty" of the spirit of the Counter-Reformation). In a sense it might be claimed that Seznec's book is a legitimate descendant of the peculiar "scientific" method to which the pagan gods were

subjected in the mythographic manuals of the Mannerists (see, e.g., p. 260, n.8). We should have liked to hear more about the absorption of the pagan gods into the religious thinking of the Renaissance; Boccaccio's *Ameto* and Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* bear undoubted testimony to this. The all-embracing interest of the Renaissance in pagan divinities, which not only found it natural to incorporate Oriental gods in general and pseudo-Egyptian lore in particular⁵ but which, in Baroque editions of Cartari's *Imagini*, added Japanese and Mexican gods to the time-honored Olympus, is, taken by itself, an important aspect of the Renaissance (see pp. 240f.). Against Seznec's contention (chap. 1, Book II), I feel that the mythology presented in the illustrated manuals of the Renaissance was not intended as a "science" in the stricter sense of the word. Beginning with Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*, the encyclopedic handbooks often had painters and poets in mind. They were, as Seznec points out, composed to record with complete catholicity; their aim was not to clarify mythographic matter as did the archaeologists and philologists of the nineteenth century or even the antiquarians of the sixteenth. The true "scientists" of antiquity in the Renaissance, were hostile or indifferent to using visual aids—a state of affairs that prevailed deep into the sixteenth century. Even as we go north of the Alps, we find, e.g., that Erasmus' *Adagia* (a mine of information on the pagan gods) as well as the writings of antiquarians such as Budaeus, Melanchthon, Lipsius, and the Scaligers, remained without illustrations. The Renaissance may well be censured for failing to bring about an unconditional rebirth of antiquity; but did Renaissance artists actually aim at such goals (pp. 252ff.)? There were a good number of cultivated and thoughtful people in the Middle Ages who tried to revive antiquity, which, undoubtedly for lack of historical distance, they felt to be part of their own existence. In the Renaissance, in contrast, artists saw themselves at best in competition with a past which they knew to be irretrievably remote. Hildebert of Lavardin played with the idea—a horror to the true humanist of the Quattrocento—of restoring the ruins of Rome. The proud awareness among humanists of having reached if not surpassed the ancients emphasizes this contrast; perhaps nowhere more clearly than in the naïve parodies of classical themes, as in the Entrée of Charles the

2. To name only one: the *De ornatu mundi*, which is full of echoes from Ovid; printed among Hildebert's works. To this should be added the mediaeval dictionaries, such as Conradus de Mure's (?) *Magnus elucidarius in omnes historias & poeticas fabulas* (second half of the thirteenth century), works which were published and, obviously, consulted in Renaissance times.

3. Another ancient goddess, Aphrodite, in the particular form of the *anadyomene*, was—although under all kinds of demoniacal disguises—equally alive in mediaeval legend, both secular and religious; I hope to demonstrate this in a study on her vagaries, leading up to Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*. The *Eros and Psyche* myth, provocative on account of its unique form of survival, has, alas, been "intentionally disregarded" (p. 121 n. 148).

4. Wibald of Stavelot, in A.D. 1149, inscribed on the re-stored abbey of Corbie, beside his name, "*Grecis litteris illud de templo Apollinis: Scito te ipsum*"—"ut docerem posteros"; in the same year, while he denied that he was a "Ciceronianus" (in itself an astonishing possibility in Gothic days!), Wibald assured his correspondent, Reinald, future archbishop of Cologne, that he had "entered the enemy's camp not as a deserter but as a spy keen on spoils." As for the Renaissance, Aldus Manutius of Venice surely knew the market when, in about A.D. 1500, he began issuing the classics in pocket editions.

5. Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, though of a late vintage, is not as radically alien to genuine hieroglyphics as the author makes it appear on page 100.

Bold at Lille (1468) where there was shown "a corpulent Venus, a thin Juno and a hunchbacked Minerva."

The two bibliographies are not only highly selective but appear rather haphazard.⁶ In Bibliography II, Seznec omits a number of important studies both general and special in nature.⁷

Having voiced certain misgivings, I am anxious to stress that my criticism (save for one or two exceptions) is concerned with relatively insignificant frailties of an otherwise stable structure which, I venture to say, will stand in its author's honor as a monument *aere perennius*. Presented in Mrs. Sessions' masterly translation and in handsome garb, the book will find its way not only to the bookshelves of scholars working in the Renaissance field but into the hands of anyone interested in an authoritative survey of significant aspects of a past on which our own intellectual and aesthetic fabric is founded.

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ANTHONY BLUNT, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700 (The Pelican History of Art)*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1954. Pp. 330; 192 pls.; 91 figs. \$8.50.

JOHN SUMMERSON, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830 (The Pelican History of Art)*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1954. Pp. 352; 192 pls.; 49 figs. \$8.50.

The Penguin has hatched a Pelican; the mouse has labored and brought forth a mountain.

The "onlie begetter" of this series was Nikolaus Pevsner, who as editor reformed the *Architectural Review*, London, and is now Slade Professor of Fine Arts at Cambridge. His enterprise, and the courage of the publisher, are beyond praise. Of the forty-eight projected volumes, the first four have appeared, among which are the two reviewed here. That these stout octavos can be produced to sell in England for 42 shillings, in America for \$8.50, is in every way creditable.

The publishers of the series say that the authors "shall not regard themselves as mere encyclopedists, presenting established facts," and the volumes which have appeared are not bare digests on the models of German "handbooks." They aim to be readable, and they do not eschew judgments of artistic value. How far they contribute to knowledge beyond previously

6. Among "Sources" I missed: Carel van Mander's interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the *Uitlegging*, which forms part of the *Schilder-Boeck*, 1604, and which, I understand, is the subject of a Dutch doctoral thesis; Nicolas Reusner, *Picta poesis Ovidiana . . .*, Frankfort, 1580; Crespin de Passe (illustrator of:) *Homerus, Speculum heroicum . . .*, Utrecht, 1613.

7. A. B. Cook, *Zeus . . .*, Cambridge, 1914ff.; W. Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument . . .*, Leipzig, 1939; Heinz Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie . . .*, Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse. xxvi, 2, Berlin,

established facts, how far they contribute to understanding, varies partly with the previous state of knowledge, with the existing state of understanding, and with the authors' degree of awareness of these states.

The day is happily now past when, to a scholar, "established facts" were such facts as happened to have come to his attention. Both of the authors of the volumes before us are competent masters of the literature of their subjects. This appears in the select bibliographies, and more fully in the extensive notes which follow each chapter. In other main respects, their approaches and the nature of their contributions differ.

Anthony Blunt's *Art and Architecture in France* does not in general contribute much to knowledge, but it does contribute to understanding, especially to understanding in the English-speaking world. Particularly as to architecture, recently published works have well established, in most cases, the dates, the authorship, the growth and the transformation of the monuments. On the other hand, the characterization and interpretation of designs has hitherto lagged, in France and England, far behind the general movement of European scholarship, in which the Germans have had the lead. This movement, in the last dozen years, has come to England chiefly through the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes, with which Anthony Blunt has been connected and of the latter of which he is now Director.

How backward British interpretation of the period hitherto has been is suggested by the dates of the two leading older works, Ward's *Architecture of the Renaissance in France*, 1911, and Blomfield's *History of French Architecture, 1494-1774*, 1911 and 1921. Both of these treated the "Renaissance" as a period extending through the eighteenth century. They largely ignored the Baroque as a major phase of the art of modern times, although it had long been recognized by the Germans as a positive and creative phase. The British had scarcely heard of plastic form, of spatial form; their books antedated the conception of Mannerism as an intervening phase between Renaissance and Baroque.

In all these regards, Blunt is abreast of the newer developments of thought. This is notably the case with his analysis of the innovations of Primaticcio and Rosso in their decorations for Francis I at Fontainebleau. It "must be classed as a variety of Mannerism and not of the High Renaissance style. . . . In fact France has passed from imitating a late Quattrocento style in the earlier part of the reign to experimenting in Mannerist

1953; Ramiro Ortiz, *Fortuna labilis. Storia di un motivo medievale*, Bucharest, 1927; Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology . . .*, New York, 1939; *idem*, "Artist, Scientist, Genius . . .," *The Renaissance. A Symposium* (Metropolitan Museum of Art), New York, 1953, pp. 77-93; Arnold von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance . . .*, Erlenbach-Zürich (1947); F. Saxl, *Classical Antiquity in Renaissance Painting*, London (National Gallery), 1938; Julius Schlosser, "Heidnische Elemente in der christlichen Kunst des Altertums (1894)," *Präludien*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 9-43; Rudolf Wittkower, "Transformations of Mine . . . Renaissance Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1939, pp. 194-200.

principles, skipping High Renaissance decorations just as she had skipped Bramante's style in architecture." His analysis of Lescot's design for the court of the Louvre is equally advanced. For, although "the first feature which strikes one . . . is its classicism," "having noticed this correctness of detail, we are at once almost equally struck with the un-Italian character of the whole design."

Blunt is equally familiar with the idea of the Baroque, and observes the infiltration of Italian Baroque spirit into the work of such men as the architect Le Vau and the sculptor Puget. The thought, however, that Colbert's opposition to these two artists may have been due really to this minister's fundamental hostility to Italian Baroque features has apparently never occurred to the writer. He has scarcely thought that the French art of the entire seventeenth century was Baroque in spite of its "classicism" (shall we not better say its *academism*?). The general problem of French classicism is one of the most thorny and difficult. Blunt handles this fully and well as regards Poussin, but I cannot see that he proposes a major solution of the problem as a whole. Such a solution would take into account the expression, by all the arts, of the Baroque *state*, which found its fullest embodiment in the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV. This would have resulted in much greater emphasis on Versailles—on Versailles as an entity, of which many of the individual features mentioned were details little more than trivial. The Versailles of the height of the reign gets relatively little attention, and one would scarcely appreciate what a gigantic ensemble it grew to constitute. Thus J. H. Mansart and André LeNôtre scarcely get their due, and certainly it would occur to no one, on the showing of this book, that LeNôtre has large claims to be regarded as the greatest French artist of the whole period.

John Summerson shows less of the Warburg-Court-auld influence, less awareness of Continental thought. He is a very able student of the documents and adds no end of original observations derived from them.

One of his finest studies is of the Royal Office of Works, which he analyzes in successive phases from the time of Henry VIII to that of George IV. Thus of the Tudor works he says: "The palaces were devised and built and largely adorned not by mysterious foreigners floating around Henry's Court, but by the officers whose business it was to do these things." He also studies the assistants of Jones and of Wren, both in and out of the Works. Later he describes the permeation and capture of the Works by the Palladians under the stimulus of Burlington.

As compared with older treatments, Summerson has the advantage of the publications meanwhile of the Wren Society. Of the City Churches, he says, "Wren, as everybody knows, designed the churches, and they form one of the most fertile sections of his work. But . . . hardly a single church would one accept, on the instant, as the work of the man who was simultaneously producing the preparatory drawings for St. Paul's Cathedral. . . . It is not difficult to distinguish churches, or parts of churches, where Wren's control has been

absolute, from those where it has not. . . . Moreover, whereas Wren himself was an elegant and precise draftsman, his colleagues were capable of producing drawings of detestable crudity."

Of the Continental phases of style, Summerson is aware, although he does not integrate them sufficiently with the English developments. Jones, he says, "while admiring the work of the Cinquecento, felt out of sympathy with the strained, nervous character of Italian Mannerist architecture." Jones was in search of "a balance more akin to the age of Bramante, and to this all his revisions of Palladio tend." Summerson gives the name of Artisan Mannerism to the work which "quite independently of the great man at White-hall, drew influences from abroad and incorporated them in a style which not only outlasted Jones' surveyorship . . . but persisted till the last quarter of the century. . . . It is strongly Mannerist in character, and related to types of Mannerism flourishing in France and, more particularly, the Netherlands, after the year 1600." Without calling Wren's own work as a whole Baroque, Summerson recognizes certain influences, as in the late western towers of St. Paul's, which "are very materially indebted to Borromini's west towers of S. Agnese, Rome." The "English Baroque" Summerson identifies with the work of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh, for its "renewed interest in the *intrinsic* qualities of mass, rhythm and proportion as opposed to the *extrinsic* management of form by the apparatus of classical elements." He discusses the emergence from Wren's work of a school which may appropriately and with some pride be called the "English Baroque school."

Obviously the essential aspect of a work of art, or of a body of work, is not its derivation but its uniqueness, its creative force. Summerson does characterize the work of the different English personalities, and does bring out how far they made a personal contribution, but it does not appear that any of them down to the eighteenth century made a contribution of European importance. British architecture until that time, in other words, remained provincial. It is only from the English Palladian movement that there emerged an initiative of wider significance. Summerson well recognizes the limitations of English Palladianism as such; that it "could never spread its wings in the Baroque-Rococo air of the European tradition." He scarcely brings out, however, the issuing from its work of the next major European movement, which we may call Romantic Classicism. True, he mentions and illustrates Burlington's Assembly Room at York; true, he alludes to Kent's part in the genesis of the landscape garden, and to the Adam contributions to Neoclassicism. But he still tends to regard Neoclassicism as having had its first flowering in France. It is only with the revival of Gothic, which "opened the door to the architecture of the Picturesque" that he develops a major British initiative. His discussion of the work under the Regency and after Waterloo, to the study of which he has himself made large pioneer contributions, is one of the most interesting parts of the book.

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Die Berliner Museen, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1953
(published by Ehemals Staatliche Museen, Berlin).
Pp. 160; 66 ills. \$2.00.

Bonner Berichte aus Mittel- und Ostdeutschland: Die Verluste der öffentlichen Kunstsammlungen . . . 1943-1946, edited by the Bundesministerium für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen, Bonn, Deutscher Bundesverlag, 1954. Pp. 103; 107 ills.

Since very little has been published concerning the losses German museums have suffered throughout and shortly after the ending of World War II, public attention should be drawn to these reports, based on official sources. The two booklets supplement each other. *Die Berliner Museen* details the status of the Berlin museums before the war and their subsequent losses, and points out what has been achieved since then in the way of rebuilding; it also gives some of the plans in the making. *Die Verluste* renders an account of the losses suffered by art museums in the Soviet zone. We learn that most of these losses were not caused by the disasters of war but rather through mismanagement and illegal confiscation by Russian authorities. It even appears that a large part of the art lost in this process literally fell by the wayside or was unnecessarily destroyed because of the irresponsible way confiscation measures were carried out. One example may prove this point. In 1945 the Dresden Coin Collection of about 150,000 coins, which had been kept intact throughout the war, was taken away by the Russians, who poured the coins into containers and left behind all the trays and identifying labels. One can well imagine how much was lost by this procedure, and it is doubtful if any order can ever be restored to this mass of 150,000 coins, or what is left of it.

Undoubtedly the Berlin museum authorities committed a mistake in not putting their treasures in places of safety when it was possible to do so, as was done in Saxony. But it is also true that this was largely the fault of top authorities in the Hitler regime who hesitated to consent to wholesale evacuation of museum goods, apparently for fear of being accused of defeatism. The first safety measures were taken in 1939, when museum cellars were prepared for storage; in 1940 additional vaults of greater depth, promising more security for museum objects were installed beneath the *Reichsbank* and the Mint, and finally in 1941 two concrete structures called Tower Zoo (Z) and Tower Friedrichshain (F) were built. In 1942 many movable objects which had been stored in these or other shelters were farmed out all over Germany and Austria, and large objects which could not be moved or could not be sent down mine shafts were photographed or recorded. Beginning in 1944 first quality items were taken from Berlin; others followed later and all were conveyed by truck, rail, or barge, a dangerous undertaking at this stage of the war, and placed in mines in Middle Germany.

Even though Tower F, the Mint and *Schloss* Vaults and other minor shelters were bombed and fires broke

out in some of these, the losses of the Berlin museums at the time of the capitulation were serious but not extraordinary. But on May 1, 1945, Tower Z with its contents all in good order, was placed under the custody of the Russian command. On May 4 Russian forces began to evacuate museum objects—sculpture, gold objects, Egyptian and Far Eastern art, etc.—from this shelter and continued to do so until by June 8, 1945, nothing was left. Tower F had been bombed during the battle for Berlin and one vault containing stained glass destroyed, but otherwise it was in good condition when it was last controlled by German guards on May 5, 1945. Then, according to the report, these guards were withdrawn; thereafter Tower F was no longer protected. As a consequence people looking for food gained entrance, and since there was none they availed themselves of the museum objects so easily accessible. The following night fire broke out on the first floor (we would call it the second floor) and an explosion destroyed the staircase and the elevator. This fire may have been an accident or may perhaps have been arson to cover thefts. Strangely enough, even now the Russians did not guard the tower with any regularity. When a second fire broke out on May 15, all objects stored on the second and third floors were destroyed. Why and how all this was allowed to happen, has never been explained. Why was Tower Z evacuated immediately whereas nothing was done about Tower F? As long as there is no proof to the contrary, it must be assumed that the reason was Russian malfeasance of some kind or another. As a result of such mismanagement there was a destruction of more than 500 first quality paintings, 400 medieval sculptures, many hundred of plaquettes or small objects of decorative art, textiles and innumerable items from various museums. Like Towers F and Z, all other vaults in Berlin housing museum objects (or in fact any others in banks, etc. containing civilian goods) as well as deposits in mines or elsewhere were ransacked and emptied by the Russians. Those mines or other storage places located in American, British, or French territory were cleared by the allies and their contents placed in safety at the collecting points in Wiesbaden and Celle, thereafter to be put at the disposition of German museum authorities.

Treasures from the Royal Palaces in Berlin and Potsdam, all of which had been turned into public museums after 1918, had been stored in similar fashion as those from museums. Two hundred first quality paintings went to safety in the mines and later were sent to the American collecting point in Wiesbaden. The same was true of the crown insignia, parts of the library of Frederic the Great, and some precious objects still owned by the Hohenzollern family. The bulk of the fine furniture, paintings, and works of decorative art were stored in places which later came under Russian control and so were carried away by them.

In Saxony, the largest territorial unit in the Soviet zone, the treasures from the Dresden museums had been dispersed in about sixty places throughout the

country, and all these deposits were constantly supervised by Dresden museum authorities. Except for the bombing of a convoy of paintings and the destruction of the entire clock and watch collection in February 1945, the bulk of the Dresden collections remained intact up to May 1945, when the Soviets occupied Dresden. From that time until July 1945, the Russian "Trophy Commission" (some of their members were Professor Blavatskij, Director of the Moscow Museum of Antiques, Major Grigoroff, Lieutenant Rabinovitsch, and Major [female] Sokolowa) engineered the systematic confiscation of all depots and placed their contents in Schloss Pillnitz near Dresden from which German museum personnel was excluded. From Pillnitz all collections, with a few exceptions, were taken to Russia; the main exception being German paintings, probably those deemed of no importance for the international art market. A collection of Renaissance bronzes of great importance was also left behind for reasons unknown, otherwise only scattered objects from various collections remained and the number of these diminished because between the date on which these left-overs were to be returned to the Germans (August 1945) and the date they actually were returned (March 1946) much was stolen, destroyed by negligence or taken by subordinate Russian officials to be used in army quarters. It is well to note that at the time of the early actions of Russian officials such terms as "safekeeping," "custody," etc. were used, but since July 1945 "spoils" (*Beute*) is the official term employed in dealing with the German authorities. As a result of this pillage, the principal museums such as the Picture Gallery, the Collection of Sculpture and the Print Room were robbed of all their first and even of much of their second-class objects. What remained were mostly third-class works, except for the Renaissance bronzes mentioned. The Green Vault, the Historical Museum, and the Coin Collection were taken *in toto*. What happened to the Porcelain Collection is not quite clear. Apparently much of it was destroyed when the Russian troops first entered Dresden. Some of it seems also to have been looted during the last days of the war when there was uncertainty about its guarding. Some china supposedly is again on view in or near Dresden (Pillnitz or Moritzburg?). Whether these objects are parts of the old china collection or whether they are objects confiscated from private collections or other museums cannot be verified.

Like those in Dresden, the museums and palace museums in Leipzig, Dessau, Gotha, and Woerlitz were denuded of all important objects by Russian occupation forces. The museum in Halle remained more or less intact; most of the contents of the museum in Magdeburg were destroyed by fire in 1945. News concerning the museums in East Germany (Danzig, Breslau, Koenigsberg, Liegnitz, Stettin, to mention only a few of the most important) is generally scarce, nor do we know anything of what happened to private collections or the country estates of landed gentry and wealthy proprietors, of which there were many in Prussia, Saxony, and the Thuringian states. However, there

can be no doubt that whatever accumulations of historical relics or art objects may have existed have been ransacked, appropriated or destroyed, by chance or deliberately, as in Berlin and Dresden. Some of these art objects have been, and still may be, infiltrated into the international art market. From time to time rumors are spread that Russian authorities intend to return some of the objects which have been confiscated. If and when this happens it will be time to acknowledge the fact, but such restitution would be a very minor step in correcting a situation for which we can only find a parallel if we go back to Napoleon. But he, after all, tried to serve a purpose by centralizing the works in the *Musée Napoléon*, in order to make them accessible to the world.

It should be noted that both pamphlets are written with great objectivity, allowing only facts and figures to speak. The following passage may illustrate the pattern of understatement which is followed throughout:

"During the war the coin collection (of Berlin) was placed in the cellars of the Pergamum Museum. As it needed little space, and because the large number of its objects (500,000) made it necessary to disturb it as little as possible and to leave the coins on their trays with holes to fit every one, a shelter like that in the Pergamum Museum recommended itself especially well. As it happened, the shelter which was chosen proved to be a most suitable one. The collection, including its special library but exclusive of its models and paper money, has been transported to the East." (*Die Berliner Museen*, p. 154)

Fortunately, the volume on the *Berliner Museen* is not entirely devoid of some comforting aspects. There is one difficulty, however, for as yet there has been no decision about the legal ownership of former Prussian properties. For the time being, the countries of Hesse and Lower Saxony are acting as custodians for the Berlin treasures, a fact which makes proper administration as well as the study of museum objects, to say the least, a most complicated matter for everyone concerned. In spite of this awkward situation the spirit of Berlin has encouraged museum authorities to make a fresh start and build up museums once more. Due to Wilhelm von Bode's foresight—he never intended to concentrate all museums in Berlin on the so-called *Museumsinsel*—a large museum building had been provided in Berlin-Dahlem (begun 1912). The structure had not been finished inside and had been used only for storage. Owing to the initiative of the present Senate of Berlin, this handsome building has now been adapted to form a nucleus of the museums to be established in West Berlin. The first section was opened with an exhibition of about 220 paintings in 1951. In 1952 the Guelf treasures, some objects from the Far East, newly acquired drawings by Dürer, and ethnological objects were placed on exhibition. The idea is to have rotating shows until such time as space will allow the installation of more permanent exhibitions. A number of shows have been arranged with Berlin material in Wiesbaden, Celle, Schloss Charlottenburg, Schloss Grunewald, and abroad. The Art Library has

been able to open quarters of its own in Berlin-Charlottenburg, and there are plans to show objects of the Baroque and later periods once owned by the Schloss Museum in some rooms of Schloss Charlottenburg after it has been rehabilitated. The remaining parts of Charlottenburg will be dedicated to the glorious period of Berlin Baroque and Rococo. Since the Berlin Schloss was perfidiously destroyed in 1950 and the palaces of Potsdam are cut off by the iron curtain, Charlottenburg will be the only place where the era of Queen Sophie Charlotte, the friend of Leibniz, and the great tradition of Frederic the Great can be studied. Here there will be an opportunity to show at least some of the scattered remainders of Frederician furniture and the paintings he collected so ardently. Some of the state apartments of the Queen and at least one Rococo room have been restored, and it is to be expected that under the present very active director of the Administration of Palaces and Gardens, Dr. Grete Kühn, more space will be rescued from the debris of the once gutted palace.

We learn by implication that most activities in East Berlin hinge on the former Kaiser Friedrich Museum where there have been exhibitions in some of the re-conditioned parts of the building. The much damaged former National Gallery houses helter-skelter collections of paintings, mostly of the nineteenth century, and a few scattered earlier pieces of sculpture and furniture. More important is its fine collection of Romantic German drawings. The *Zeughaus* has been selected to serve as the quarters for a museum of German history (as understood in the East). Both reports show that there is still a good deal of drive left in the museum authorities of West Berlin despite the enormous losses the museums have sustained, and in spite of the fact

that even now innumerable cases have had to remain unopened for more than fifteen years. There are still countless *membra disiecta* inside and outside of Berlin which once formed part of a well-unified body of museum institutions. It must be the hope of all those interested in cultural values that means will be found to join once again what has been dislocated.

Berlin Museen was published through the initiative of Dr. Irene Kühnel-Kunze by the Director General of the Berlin Collections, Dr. E. Heinrich Zimmermann. It is handsomely illustrated, mostly with full-page illustrations of important objects. The booklet on *Verluste* was compiled by the Secretary for German Questions (*Bundesminister für gesamtdeutsche Fragen*) in Bonn, and is published as part of a series of *Bonner Berichte*. It, too, is well illustrated and shows a number of lost works of art. Both publications contain useful bibliographical annotations. Some of the most recent titles are quoted here: *Phoenix*, III, 1948, p. 269 (List of losses of Far Eastern Collections, compiled by Otto Kümmel). *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CII, 1952, p. 1 (List of losses of Egyptian Collections, compiled by R. Anthes). *Berliner Museen*, N.F., II, 1952, p. 16 (List of pictures destroyed in Tower F, compiled by E. Heinrich Zimmermann). *Burlington Magazine*, XCIV, 1952, p. 337 (List of pictures destroyed in Tower F, compiled by Christopher Norris). *Berliner Museen*, N.F., III, 1953 (List of sculptures destroyed in Tower F).

The appended charts are based largely on the two booklets here reviewed, supplemented with information gathered by the reviewer.

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BERLIN MUSEUMS

Prewar Contents	Present Contents	War Losses	LOSSES Fire Losses	Russian Confiscations
EGYPTIAN COLLECTION				
24,000 items	16,000 items in Wiesbaden, Celle, East Berlin. More than half of the main museum objects missing (Nofretete head is in Wiesbaden)	Only those stored in Sophienhof (Mecklenburg)	Some losses in Tower F	300 large sculptures; small objects, among these the finest taken out of Towers F (after fire) and Z, Mint Vault, museum cellars between early summer 1945 to May 1946
ASIA MINOR COLLECTION				
All objects stored in Berlin unharmed until 1945	Ishtar portal, Procession street of Babylon; facade of hall of Nebuchadnezzar II, and some other items			Assyrian reliefs, large sculptures from Assur, Palmyra, Tell Halaf, Luristan bronzes, Gold from Uruk-Warka, Collection of Seals
COLLECTION OF ANCIENT ART				
60,000 items among these: 1,800 large sculptures, 9,000 vases, 7,000 terra cotta, 14,000 miscellaneous, 14,000 cut stones, etc., 2,800 glasses, 12,000 findings from diggings	One-sixth left of original collection	One bomb slightly damaged Portal of Milet	One-sixth of collection destroyed in Tower F: 2,800 glasses, 300 vases, 800 terra cotta, 2,000 small objects, 2,500 findings from diggings	Two-thirds of collection: all sculptures with very few exceptions, Pergamum altar, Magnesia sculptures, everything movable from storages, about 6,500 terra cotta, 7,000 vases, 11,000 cut stones, etc., 13,000 miscellaneous items
ISLAMIC COLLECTION				
	Mschatta facade repaired, some collections in East Berlin, Wiesbaden, Celle, Library in Berlin	Mschatta facade, Portal of Milet damaged by bombs and fire	Rugs destroyed in Mint Vault	Heaviest losses through confiscation of objects
EARLY CHRISTIAN & BYZANTINE COLLECTION				
3,000 objects, large objects stayed in museum	300 selected objects in Wiesbaden			Major parts of the collection; and the entire collection of very important Coptic textiles
FAR EASTERN COLLECTION				
Several thousand objects	Now in Wiesbaden and Celle: only more recent Japanese paintings, ceramics, some sculptures	Bombed: parts of textile collection, library and study material		With exception of some scroll paintings, ceramics, and sculptures, main bulk of collection was taken away: paintings, Japanese sculptures, nearly all metal-work, lacquer collection, jade, ceramics, textiles

BERLIN MUSEUMS—(Continued)

Prewar Contents	Present Contents	War Losses	LOSSES Fire Losses	Russian Confiscations
PREHISTORY AND EARLY HISTORY COLLECTIONS				
120,000 items	48 cases in West Germany. Some study material, remainders from storages in Leibus in East Berlin	400 cases destroyed plus 30,000 objects, most of storage in Leibus; 77 cases with ceramics in Silesia unaccounted for		From Tower Z: "Haus-er" heads, findings from Troy (Schliemann), Gold from Craiova; Collection Boulanger, findings from Schmoeckwitz, all over Europe, Caucasus, etc., in addition 300 cases
MUSEUM FOR GERMAN FOLKLORE	One-quarter of contents in Wiesbaden, best ceramics, prints, wooden implements, peasant jewelry, textiles; library in East Berlin	Three-quarters bombed in storage or looted in Deposit in Leibus		
MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY	3,000 cases in Celle and Wiesbaden; large stone monuments from Central America and India in Berlin-Dahlem	Bombed: large objects left in museum. Half of Turfan frescoes, 18 Lohans, plaster casts, etc. 313 cases and 1,000 large single pieces lost in storage in Silesia. 540 American, African and Oceanic objects, stored in Towers F, Z, destroyed and looted		From museum large parts of library; from Tower Z, 15 large pieces totem poles, etc.; from museum cellar nearly the entire North American show collection; from storage Dahlem, large parts of study collection
PICTURE GALLERY	About 1,200 in Wiesbaden, first quality (none of large size), one-third of bulk in East Berlin (but mostly storage pictures of second quality). Though only about one-quarter of contents was lost, in view of quality this is highest loss of any gallery except Dresden. Selection on exhibit in Berlin-Dahlem		411 (one-sixth of contents of picture gallery) burned in Tower F, mostly of large size and first quality	About 230 pictures, not German, and about 100 paintings from storage
NATIONAL GALLERY	1,000 from storages returned to East Berlin; some drawings missing. 630 paintings in Wiesbaden, Celle of first quality. Drawings of first quality in East Berlin		Some paintings of large size in Tower F	200 paintings looted or confiscated in Tower F; large size paintings of first quality; drawings of minor quality; Schinkel and Beuth collection 4,000 items

BERLIN MUSEUMS—(Continued)

Prewar Contents	Present Contents	War Losses	LOSSES Fire Losses	Russian Confiscations
SCULPTURE COLLECTION Tens of thousands of objects, among them 1,500 medals and plaques	Major part of large German sculptures in Wiesbaden; nearly entire collection of small German and two-thirds of Italian bronzes in Wiesbaden, some few sculptures in East Berlin		Major loss through fire in Tower F; 400 large sculptures mostly Italian; about 50 small bronzes, 400 plaques, some major German early sculptures	From Tower Z and museum cellars major large French and German sculptures (Groningen loft, Mourning woman of Biberach, Luca della Robbia, Majano, Pigalle, Houdon)
PRINT ROOM 1,000 drawings first quality (Dürer, Rembrandt, Grünewald, Botticelli, etc.), topographical prints, 600 woodblocks, illuminated mss.; incunabula, 3,000 illustrated books; armoria, etc.	Wiesbaden, Celle, East and West Berlin	Less than half of illustrated books bombed in Mint Vault 1945	In Tower F 850 large prints, part of Dutch prints of second quality	Drawings by Michelangelo; Grünewald; 5 portfolios out of 7 with Botticelli drawings; more than 100 volumes of German prints, 1550-1800; 6,300 portfolios with prints of 19th century; 50 cases with illustrated books of 18th and 19th century; 16 portfolios prints of Berlin and Potsdam; more than 25 portfolios of large prints and drawings; 40 folio volumes of Piranesi prints; 120,000 negatives of catalogue which was burned in Tower F
ART LIBRARY About 5,500 items: art books, photographs, archives, costume library Lipperheide, prints, drawings, ornamental engravings, many unique prints	Ornamental engravings, first quality drawings, major part of library and plate archives now accessible in West Berlin	Bombed in Mint Vault: four-fifth of volumes of ornamental engravings		48 cases with books taken from library in 1945; 98 cases with works from costume library and others; photographic archives
MUSEUM OF DECORATIVE ARTS Objects illustrating the development of decorative art since early middle ages and special collections covering most branches. A number of outstanding objects such as the cross of Henri II, parts of Treasure of Basle Cathedral, jewels of Empress Gisela, silver treasures of city of Lüneburg, etc.	Some early tapestries, more of 16th to 18th century, scattered samples of textiles, a few remainders of Italian faience, a few glasses, a number of German china figurines, some furniture (now in East Berlin). Early middle ages, nearly intact; some paneling from period rooms	All stained glass (a loss which narrows down bulk of existing material). Tapestries, textiles, ceramics, glasses destroyed by bombs and fire. In deposit in Sophienhof (Mecklenburg) furniture from Maria Antoinette. Jewelry from Empress Gisela, etc. destroyed		From rural deposits and museum cellars about 150 first quality, 125 fair pieces of furniture; 1,830 samples of textiles; library, inventory and records

BERLIN MUSEUMS—(*Continued*)

Prewar Contents	Present Contents	War Losses	LOSSES Fire Losses	Russian Confiscations
COIN COLLECTION				
500,000 items	10,000 second quality medals; 40,000 items of paper money; 2,880 seals, etc.			The coin and medal collection, with excep- tions as indicated, was confiscated in May 1945, i.e. 35,000 ob- jects out of 500,000
ARMORY (Zeughaus)				Storage of main collec- tion burned in 1944- 45. Cannon of 16th century, armor, helmet collection. Library il- luminated mss model collection, inventory records
Collection of arms, mil- itary and historical ob- jects, accumulated in 240 years in the same building	The museum no longer exists, dissolved by de- cree of allies in May 1945	Objects, especially can- non, still in museum in 1945 were taken to Paris or Moscow. The rest, dating from 15th to 18th century to be scrapped, about 40 es- caped		
TEL HALAF MUSEUM		Destroyed <i>in toto</i>		
MUSEUM OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS		Destroyed <i>in toto</i>		
SHOW COLLECTION OF PORCELAIN MANUFACTORY		Destroyed <i>in toto</i>		

BERLIN AND POTSDAM PALACE MUSEUMS

Present Status	War Losses	Russian Confiscations Losses
BERLIN SCHLOSS Totally destroyed in fall 1950	After bombing, February 1945, major architectural structure still existed though grave damages in east wing and middle tract. West wing still usable.	Major parts of library of the Hohenzollern (<i>Schloss-Bibliothek</i>), including unpublished music scores of 18th century, collection of watercolors, etc.
CHARLOTTENBURG East and west wings are being restored. Two-thirds bombed. Chapel and "new wing" representative of period of Frederick II, one Rococo room. Part of furniture stored elsewhere now back in place. Some paintings (Watteau, Gersaint) in Wiesbaden, of which some on loan at the museum Berlin-Dahlem. Some tapestries in Wiesbaden	Many, though not exceedingly valuable, paintings, stored in Potsdam. Of china, mostly Far Eastern, decorating the walls	Many, though not exceedingly valuable, paintings, stored in Potsdam. Of china, mostly Far Eastern, decorating the walls
	erick the Great mostly destroyed including murals and ceilings by Pesne. Arp Schnitger organ (stored in Berlin Schloss) destroyed <i>in situ</i> .	of china cabinet some taken, some destroyed <i>in situ</i> . Some of the furniture stored in Potsdam
MONBIJOU MUSEUM 118 paintings in Wiesbaden. Some paintings in Potsdam. Crown insignia in Wiesbaden. Some property belonging to Hohenzollern returned to them, but part of this destroyed or stolen	Total loss of building, most part of inventory destroyed in storage cellar of furniture stored in Babelsberg	Some paintings stored in Potsdam. All
GRUNEWALD AND PFAUENINSEL Buildings intact, open to public (West Berlin)		
STADTSCHLOSS POTSDAM Some of the façades standing, otherwise gutted. First quality paintings and main parts of library of Frederick the Great in Wiesbaden, parts of library in Sanssouci	Bombed and gutted	Paintings and all furniture taken from storage in Babelsberg
PALACE OF SANSOUCI Building intact. Open to public with some remainders or substitutes for original inventory; about one-half of pictures in Wiesbaden, also library		The bulk of furniture taken away from storage, also pictures by Lancret, Pater, Pesne, Coypel, etc., and famous ancient Homer bust
SANSOUCI PICTURE GALLERY		Pictures stored in Rheinsburg all taken away, furniture taken out of building
NEUES PALAIS Building intact. Some important pictures, Minor damages to the library now in Wiesbaden		Furniture taken away. On top floor majority of picture storage of several thousand paintings. May be assumed to have been taken away. Some have been noticed on the art market
MARMORPALAIS CHARLOTTENHOF Building intact; some furnishings still exist <i>in situ</i>		Much of contents taken away

DRESDEN MUSEUMS

Prewar Status

COLLECTION OF ANCIENT SCULPTURES

427 large sculptures (1925)

COLLECTION OF ANCIENT MINOR ARTS

About 5,000 items

MODERN SCULPTURES

About 500 objects

GALLERY OF OLD MASTERS

2,855 pictures (1930)

MODERN GALLERY

643 pictures (1930)

PRINT ROOM

Several hundreds of thousands of prints and drawings

GREEN VAULT

One of the greatest collections of precious objects established in 1721 Confiscated *in toto* by Russians on May 14, 1945

COIN COLLECTION

About 152,000 items (1928)

PORCELAIN COLLECTION

One of the largest and oldest collections in Europe

HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Uniforms, historical objects, arms (2,482 in 1892), small guns (2,000) armor, etc. Confiscated *in toto* by Russians

CITY MUSEUM OF DECORATIVE ARTS

ARMY MUSEUM

MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY

MUSEUM FOR PREHISTORY

FOLKLORE AND FOLK ART MUSEUM

STATE LIBRARY

Present Status

170 sculptures left. The rest, about 60 per cent including everything valuable confiscated by Russians

The complete collection in 30 cases confiscated by Russians

All Renaissance bronzes remain, modern bronzes confiscated by Russians

More than 1,560 pictures, all important ones among which, confiscated by Russians, others destroyed or missing. About 1,300 are left

177 paintings (nearly all French) confiscated by Russians. About 460 left

The collection taken by the Russians in its entirety except for some chance remainders among which are 50 per cent of the romantic drawings; however, none by C. D. Friedrich

Confiscated *in toto* by Russians

Unknown; much was destroyed after the war. A collection of porcelain is on view in Dresden, but how much of this once formed part of the older collection unknown

Supposedly intact

Partly intact, some parts confiscated by Russians

Much looted and destroyed at the end of the war, however best pieces still intact

Intact except for library which was confiscated by Russians

No losses, now located in Meissen

Large part of rare books and manuscripts confiscated by Russians

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

The Architect at Mid-Century, I: Evolution and Achievement, edited by Turpin C. Bannister, New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1954. Pp. 513; 41 figs. \$8.75.

The Architect at Mid-Century, II: Conversations across the Nation, edited by Francis R. Bellamy, New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1954. Pp. 260. \$5.00.

The Artist in Modern Society; Essays and Statements collected by UNESCO, New York, Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. 128. \$1.00.

BARR, ALFRED H., JR., *Masters of Modern Art*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1954. Pp. 240; 356 pls. \$15.00.

BENESCH, OTTO, *The Drawings of Rembrandt, first complete Edition, in six volumes, I-II: The Leiden Years; The Early Amsterdam Period; 1625-1640*, London, Phaidon Press, 1954. Pp. 136; 595 figs. \$60.00.

COLVIN, H. M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 821. \$12.50.

DARK, J. C. PHILIP, *Bush Negro Art, an African Art in the Americas*, London, Alec Tiranti, 1954. Pp. 66; 52 figs. 8s 6d.

DICKSON, HAROLD E., *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings*, State College, Pa., Bald Eagle Press, 1954. Pp. 100; 100 pls. \$6.50.

DOERNER, MAX, *Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde*, edited by Toni Roth, Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke, 1954. Pp. 484; 1 pl. DM 27.00.

EBERSOLT, JEAN, *Orient et Occident, recherches sur les influences Byzantines et orientales en France avant et pendant les Croisades*, Paris, E. de Boccard, 1954. Pp. 147; 42 pls. 3000 French francs.

Egypt, Paintings from Tombs and Temples, Introduction by Jacques Vandier, New York Graphic Society (UNESCO World Art Series), 1954. Pp. 10; 32 pls. \$15.00.

FERGUSON, GEORGE, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. 345; 250 figs.; 111 pls. \$10.00.

FIEDLER, CONRAD, *Essay on Architecture*, with Notes by Victor Hammer, Lexington, Ky., privately printed by Carolyn Reading, 1954. Pp. 56. \$5.00.

FLEXNER, JAMES THOMAS, *The Light of Distant Skies*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1954. Pp. 306; 102 pls. \$10.00.

GIBBS, EVELYN, *The Teaching of Art in Schools*, New York, John de Graff, 1954. Pp. 78; 73 pls. \$2.75.

GIEDION, SIEGFRIED, *Walter Gropius, Work and Teamwork*, New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1954. Pp. 249; 317 pls. \$10.00.

GOODENOUGH, ERWIN R., *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, IV*, New York, Pantheon Books (Bollingen Series), 1954. Pp. 229; 117 pls. \$7.50.

HERRERA, RAFAEL LARCO, *El Espíritu, Arma de la Paz*, Lima, Peru, 1953. Pp. 214; ills.

Jahrbuch für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunswissenschaft, edited by Heinrich Lützeler, II, 1952-1954, Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke, 1954. Pp. 220. DM 34.00.

KILMAN, ED and THEON WRIGHT, *Hugh Roy Cullen, a Story of American Opportunity*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1954. Pp. 376; ills. \$4.00.

LANKHEIT, KLAUS, *Die Zeichnungen des kurpfälzischen Hofbildhauers Paul Egell*, Karlsruhe, G. Braun, 1954. Pp. 120; 24 figs.; 52 pls. DM 30.00.

Leicester, Art Gallery, *The Ellesmere Collection of Old Master Drawings, Catalogue*, with Introduction by P. A. Tomory, 1954. Pp. 39; 24 pls.

Los Angeles County Museum, *Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch and English Paintings, XV-XVIII Century*, 1954. Pp. 87; 97 pls.

MILLET, GABRIEL, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie, I*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1954. Pp. 13; 94 pls.

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